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A Journal of the History of Music

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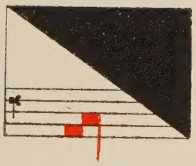
Editor



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EDITORIAL

Book Reviews and Musica Disciplina

These lines are elicited by inquiries about absence of reviews in *Musica Disciplina.*

Musica Disciplina does not reject the idea of reviews as such; *Musica Disciplina* recognizes the value of reviews, even in learned periodicals, if certain conditions are fulfilled. These conditions, referring to reviews of specialized learned books, are :

A. The book reviewed must be, at least, an outstanding contribution to the study of a serious subject.

B. The reviewer must be at least as informed about the subject as the author, and his review must be essentially for the sake of corrections, emendations, additions and improvement in general.

C. The reviewer, while taking into account the human element in the author, good and not good, must himself be able to permit none enter his own treatment of the book.

D. The reviewer, beyond possessing the qualifications in B and C, must really be capable of analysis and criticism and of clear and succinct writing.

Of these conditions A is fulfilled only by a small part, indeed, of the books published in any field. We are in the midst of a flood of book prodution and a deluge of words put into print, but serious works still remain relatively few and easily separated.

Condition B is fulfilled well enough in a great many cases, since a great many books have been written by authors with whom the urge for literary progeny, or some practical necessity for such, outweighed their qualifications. And so, many a reviewer, had he written the book, would have done it better. But in the case of books satisfying condition A surely B is not easily satisfied. Here we witness important works reviewed glibly or with doubt and hesitation, at best inadequately, seldom grappling with the essentials of the book and almost always containing the conventional civilities or aspersions, depending upon the case as related to condition C.

Regarding condition C : that we are all mortal humans is obvious enough a fact, but it is astounding to how few readers of reviews

must this fact, as regards reviewers, be evident! Otherwise how to explain the ever increasing popularity of reviews and at any rate the ever increasing space they occupy in our publications?*. Or must one speak merely of editors and not of readers? Anyhow, perhaps very few would insist that condition C is met in the large part of reviews published, and perhaps no one is unfamiliar with reviews in which old accounts are settled between author and reviewer or new ones opened...

Of condition D, too, little need be said. Perhaps there is no more depressing reading in scientific literature than reviews that miss the point of the book in question, if the book has a point, or make attributions when the book is in fact pointless; reviews that praise or reproach, but off the central issues; reviews that say the usual things, and some unusual things too. Then, how many reviews reflect boredom on the part of the reviewer writing against his interest, perhaps because of one or more of various reasons not necessary to mention here. And how insipid so many reviews are, in content and in expression!

Now let us turn to see in how many cases do A, B, C and D coincide. No serious mind could seriously deny that they do so in extremely few cases. This conclusion, and the four conditions upon which it is based, may not suit every reader, but it is what has brought about the state of things as regards *Musica Disciplina.* There have been some works that might have been revieved in *Musica Disciplina* during the past four years, but the editor has not been fortunate enough to bring together all the four elements at the right moment.

Now it may be objected: Why all this idealism about reviews?

May it be asked in return: Why all the attention and space devoted to reviews?

The interest of book reviews considered from the point of view of publisher and book-seller is obvious. In the case of popular writings reviews have a purpose, too, allied to the « digest » form so common now in modern reading habits. In literature strictly so called, reviews have become indispensable on the one hand because of the myriad books, specially fiction, thrown at the public, and

* The last issue just received of one of our best known learned periodicals devoted strictly to a special field gives out of 136 pages of text 70 pages to reviews - more than half of the issue, not counting half a dozen pages occupied by a list of « books received ». This is the more striking as the periodical in question was recently forced to reduce its bulk because of the ever rising costs of printing and related economic reasons. This is no single case; it is only a typical one. In musicology itself, the last issue at the moment of the present writing of one of the principal periodicals has for every four pages of articles three pages of reviews. An amazing proportion! But perhaps we do not quite understand or appreciate the importance of reporting in such periodicals.

on the other hand because the average reader is uncritical and intellectually even indolent. Someone must save him time and effort. But how do such and similar purposes apply to learned literature reviewed in learned publications? Who is the learned reader who would be treated as a member of a reading class in a Woman's Club?

A learned periodical addresses itself to learned or at any rate specialized readers. Excepting the cases of very specialized works reviewed by outstanding specialists, the learned reader hardly needs some one man's opinion about a book that intersts him, and much less in the case of a book that does not interest him. And if he needed another's opinion, which of the varying opinions expressed in various reviews of the same work, as is almost invariably the case, would he look for? Only with a book by a great and recognised specialist do various reviews reach a measure of harmony, fortunately with a goodly number of discords, and here too the « great and recognised » element plays not an inconsiderable part.

Serious reviews of serious books surely have their place in learned periodicals, but no one can from this standpoint justify the number of books reviewed, the quality of the reviews in general and the space given these reviews. The current abundance of reviews does, for one thing, offend the serious and intellectually autonomous reader, and, for another thing, retards or dulls the critical sense of the novice. It is a puzzling and perturbing phenomenon this of a learned periodical taking upon itself to give an account of almost every « Tom, Dick and Harry » of a book that appears on the crowded scene. Is it a full-bosomed maternal sense, or a voracious appetite, or an uncritical pursuit of a convention now bloated, or, plainly, a policy of good hunting that aims at every bird that takes to wing (and perhaps those too that waddle) with buck-shot?

Anyhow, this discussion is not so much to criticise what other periodicals do as to explain what *Musica Disciplina* does not do. *Musica Disciplina* regrets that some authors have not been given merited space for proper reviews of their works, but it has at least had the assurance that they have not been neglected elsewhere. In the meantime, it has been deemed to the greater usefulness of *Musica Disciplina* and to the greater advantage of the reader to print a full annual bibliography of works proper to our field, and it is hoped that in this we have not been mistaken.

A. C.

* * *

P. S. to the Editorial in Vol. V: A Preface to the Transcription of Polyphony: Desire to escape pedantry must not cause dif-

ficulties. It was taken for granted that the brief paragraph on ligatures would be read in the light of the context, thus referring to the period of later polyphony. It was assumed that the obvious case, for example, of notation of the rhythmic modes, where ligatures are significant, needed no mention.

* * *

The editor of « Musica Disciplina » welcomes the reappearance, after an intermission of twenty-five years, of the « Archiv für Musikwissenschaft », with Prof. Wilibald Gurlitt as editor and Profs. Heinrich Besseler, Walter Gerstenberg and Arnold Schmitz as associate editors. He wishes these colleagues of his and the periodical they edit a long and prosperous activity.

MEDIEVAL TERMINOLOGY AND METHODS OF PSALM SINGING

S. J. P. VAN DIJK (*Oxford*)

Reading history backwards may be satisfactory for propaganda purposes, from an historical point of view it is seldom impartial, often incorrect and always imperfect. Public worship, the constantly repeated ceremonial act, is laid down by traditional rules. But the interpretation of these rules is subject to change. A new meaning may be given to the same word, its original meaning vanish out of memory and the past remain hardly more than a dead letter. The fact, for instance, that this century has seen the restoration of the Gregorian chant, the traditional music of the Western Church, shows that both the material means of handing down and their interpretation can be lost. And today, after more than fifty years of historical research, the results as a whole are far from satisfactory. If materially the notation can be reconstructed, its interpretation is still a mystery. Moreover, by now it is evident too that much of what has been defended cannot be freed from tendencies which should have been foreign to critical study.

The following notes on medieval methods of psalmody have been collected in the course of some research into the changing attitude of the later Middle Ages towards the Divine Office as such [1]. Since the latter unmistakably underwent a double shortening, viz. the curtailment of prayers and the speeding up of the actual performance, it may be worth while to draw attention to such details as are concerned with the essential part of the Office, namely the performance of the psalms. The matter here collected is not intended to be a basis for definite conclusions. These require a full analysis of the terminology of those days, an analysis which, to the best of my knowledge, has never been attempted. Yet, these pages may suggest that the historians among our liturgists still have far to go, before they are out of the misty uncertainty.

[1] S. A. van Dijk, « Historical liturgy and liturgical history » in *Dominican Studies* ii, Oxford 1949, 161 ff. ; see *loc. cit.* 180.

* * *

The Middle Ages hardly felt the need for technical treatises on the performance of the psalms. What they produced is limited to analysis of the modal system [2], overladen with literary humbug, as in the case of the *Instituta Patrum de modo psallendi* of Ekkehard V of St Gall [3], or intended for devotional purposes and then stuffed with allegorical subtleties [4]. Hence the ancient methods of psalmody have to be traced by piecing together some scattered rules, exhortations and *obiter dicta*. The main difficulty to be faced is that of their interpretation. They often lack any clarifying context and, moreover, date from a time when the discussions of the Divine Office were already in full swing.

Elsewhere [5] I have drawn attention to the fact that, unless it is evident from the context, *cantare officium* admits the double translation of 'to sing' or 'to say' the Office. As a matter of fact, this ambiguity is consequent upon the ancient and medieval practice by which plain reading, the *lectio plana*, was always done aloud. Silent reading was unknown and even private recitation of psalms and other prayers was done *vocaliter* [6]. The medieval reader understood by listening to himself. Hence in his mind the differences between *legere* and *cantare*, in so far as the voice was concerned, were only differences of degree, i.e. of vocal intensity and intonation.

For the chanted psalmody the *vox mediocris* or *modesta* [7] was ideal. It held the middle path between the *vox gravis* or *remissa* and the *alta* or *altisona*. Just as the words *gravis* and *remissa* were used both for a melodically low tone and for a less intensive voice, so the term *alta* was applied to a loud as well as to a high-pitched voice. This double meaning of each of these terms clearly indicates that a high note was to be sung with great force, while a low tone

[2] For instance, Hucbald's, « Commemoratio brevis de tonis et psalmis modulandis » in Gerbert, *Scriptores* i, 213 ff.

[3] S. A. van Dijk, « St Bernard and the Instituta Patrum of St Gall » in *Musica disciplina* iv, 1950, 99 ff.

[4] For instance the ninth-century Italian « De psalmorum usu », ascribed to Alcuin ; see A. Wilmart, « Le manuel de St Jean Gualbert » in *Revue bénédictine* xlviii, 1936, 262 ff.

[5] Historical liturgy, *loc. cit.*, 180.

[6] See, for instance, « Speculum reclusorum », pars ii, cap. 1 ; ed. L. Oliger in *Lateranum. Nova series* iv, vol. 1, Rome 1937, 87 : Oraciones ad quas homo tenetur ex ordinatione ecclesie vel superiorum suorum, vocaliter reddat atque totaliter iuxta modum et consuetudinem ordinis sive status. See cap. 3, *loc. cit.*, 102. For spiritual reading, see *loc. cit.* : audibili voce legat, quia maxime solet corda compungere vox viva legentis ; also pars iii, cap. 1 ; *loce cit.*, 109. — On the general subject of medieval reading, see J. Balogh, « Voces paginarum » in *Philologus* lxxxii, 1926-7, 84 ff., 202 ff. ; H. J. Chaytor, « The medieval reader and textual criticism » in *The bulletin of the John Ryland library* xxvi, 1941-2, 49 ff.

[7] « Sarum processionale » ; ed. W. G. Henderson, Leeds 1882, 16, 18, etc.

was naturally mellow. Consequently, in those days, the ideas of intensity and intonation were almost inseparable.

Likewise, the *vox mediocris* was 'moderate' in every respect. As far as the pitch was concerned, it was *tonatim*, i.e. neither too *remissa* nor too *altisona* [8]; in short, within the reach of any normal singing voice. In dynamic sense it was *sine strepitu* [9]. Rhythmically the chant was to flow on evenly, *pari voce* or *aequa lance* [10]. The text, in other words, had to be pronounced *neque nimis correpte neque nimis protracte*, yet with 'distinction' [11].

Since the singing of Mass and Office was the general rule, the terminology of recitation or 'plain' diction *sine nota* [12] was referred to as *cantus* or *lectio* with a *submissa* or *suppressa vox* [13], which must be clearly distinguished from what in modern parlance is called a 'low' voice [14]. Among the many testimonies which prove this idea, the most evident is perhaps the instruction given in the foundation

[8] Chrodegang of Metz, « Regula canonicorum », cap. 50, *PL* 89, 1079 : Psalmi namque in ecclesia non cursim aut in excelsis atque inordinatis seu intemperatis vocibus sed plane et lucide cum compunctione cordis recitentur... quoniam, quamvis cantilenae sonus in aliis officiis excelsa soleat fieri vcce, in recitandis tamen psalmis huiuscemodi vitanda est vox. Anselm of Havelberg, « Liber de Ordine Canonicorum », cap. 20 ; *PL* 188, 1107 : In psalmodia hoc annoto ut mediocriter, id est neque nimis correpte neque nimis protracte, tamen cum distinctione ac tonatim fiat, ne nimis remissa aut nimis altisona voce proferatur...

[9] « Instituta Patrum » ; ed. Gerbert, *Scriptores*, i, 6 : privatis autem diebus ita psalmodia moduletur... ut omnes possint devote psallere et intente cantare sine strepitu vocis, cum affectu absque defectu ; *loc. cit.*, 7 : quidquid cantet vel legat, mediocriter inchoet et tali voce ut sine strepitu perficiat.

[10] « Instituta Patrum », *loc. cit.*, 6 : Psalmodia semper pari voce aequa lance non nimis protrahatur sed mediocri voce...

[11] See note 8.

[12] See, presently, in the Franciscan « Ordinationes », p. 14.

[13] The Franciscans and other Mendicant Orders had the privilege to say Office *distincte et simpliciter sine nota* during an interdict ; « Ordinationes » in *Arch. Franc. Hist.* iii, 1910, 68, n. 27. This privilege is given by many papal bulls in which the parties interested were allowed to say the Hours with the doors closed and *suppressa voce* ; Innocent iii, « Regesta » (suppl.) n. 35-6, *PL* 217, 63 ff., and Innocent iv, « Regesta », ed. Berger, n. 405, 2193, 6458 ; or *voce submissa*, Honorius iii, « Bullarium Francisc. » i, 9, n. 4 (see 407, n. 123) and Innocent iv, loc. cit., n. 598, 614, 1908, 3184, 4002, 4005, 5956, 6435, 6452, etc. See also the reproach of Innocent iv, loc. cit., n. 4091, of an abbot for having celebrated the Office *alta voce* before supporters of Frederick, who was excommunicated. Card. Berengarius in his « Summa poenitentialis », Oxford, Bodleian libr., Rawl. A. 429 (11306), fol. 13r, explains that : in conventualibus ecclesiis ubi sunt plures clerici [who did not have the privilege] possunt bini et bini et tres simul horas canonicas legere et dicere ianuis clausis interdictis exclusis voce submissa quod extra ecclesiam non valeant exaudiri. — The Cistercian constitutions once use the term *mediocris* for recitation ; cap. 22 ; ed. Ph. Guignard, *Les monuments primitifs de la Régle cistercienne*, Dijon 1878, 116.

[14] The rubric in which the final *Miserere* in the Hours of the last three days of Holy Week is prescribed to be said *submissa voce* means that this psalm, has to be recited *sine cantu*, i.e. in opposition to the previous Office which is supposed to be sung. See P. Gueranger, *Institutions liturgiques* ii, Paris 1841, 181, 187, whose erroneous opinion is followed by Eisenhofer, *Handbuch der katholischen Liturgik* ii, Freiburg i. B. 1933, 154.

charter of St Elisabeth College at Winchester, England, drawn up early in the fourteenth century. Here the recitation of the Offices of Our Lady and the Dead is clearly distinguished from the chant of the canonical Hours, in this way [15] :

... matutinas beate virginis submissa voce, aperte et distincte simul dicant ; et postea matutinas de die cum nota, ita quod neutra pars chori versum suum prius incipiat, nisi prius versus alterius chori totaliter terminetur. Et pausationem quandam in medio cuiuslibet versus modicam faciant. Et omnes utriusque chori simul versum suum incipiant, pausationem faciant et simul versum suum studeant terminare.

Private recitation in a ' low ' voice was known as reading done *privatim, secreto, tacite* or *in silentio* [16]. Yet, since it was vocal, these terms, more often than not, occur with *legere* as well as *cantare* [17]. Private diction of the Office, of psalms, prayers, and the private celebration of Mass still could not be compared with the reading of, say, a theological treatise or a poem. The reverence for such acts required that they should be performed *tractim.* The exact meaning of this word will be discussed presently. It certainly was also the opposite of *festinanter* and *cursorie* and excluded, for instance, the tempo in which the lectures were given at the universities on days when dictation or reading *ad pennam* was not allowed [18].

* * *

There is plenty of evidence that the limits imposed by the requirements of this general terminology admitted, at the same time, a great variety of practice and, what is more interesting, of discus-

[15] W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* vi, London 1830, 1340a.

[16] In the Ordinary of the papal court which goes under the name of Innocent iii, Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 4162A, recitation is either *cantus sine nota* or *submissa voce*, while saying without a loud or better and audible voice always is said to be *privatim.* Haymo of Faversham constantly used *secreto* in those instances in which Innocent's Ordo reads *privatim.* — In the constitutions of the Gilbertines, Dugdale, *op. cit.*, vi, part 2, p. *lxi, and the 14th-century Sarum Office of Our Lady in Oxford, Bodleian library, Laud lat. 85 (664), fol. 10r, the opposite of *sub silentio* is *in audiencia.*

[17] In addition to the examples given in *Ephemerides liturg.* lvi, 1942, 16, note 54, one may compare the 13th cent. rubric in the so-called Breviary of St Clare, *Franciscan Studies* viii, 1948, 383 : In primis facta confessione. posito incenso in altari. et cantatis secreto orationibus consuetis. accedat ad altare...; Ps Alcuin, « De divinis officiis », cap. 40 ; *PL* 101, 1256 : ut (canon) tacite cantetur ; « Expositio missae », in A. Franz, *Die Messe im Deutschen Mittelalter*, Freiburg i. B. 1902, 44 : Cur Te igitur secrete canitur ; « Decretum Gratiani », *De consecratione,* dist. i, cap. 45 ; ed. Friedberg i, 1306 ; etc.

[18] Chr. Wordsworth, « The ancient calendar of the University of Oxford », in *Oxford Hist. Society* xlv, 1902-3, 27 f.

sion. One of the most authoritative regulations for psalm singing, which goes under the name of St Bernard and was certainly conceived by the Cistercians about the middle of the twelfth century, runs as follows [19] :

Psalmodiam non nimis protrahamus sed rotunde et viva voce cantemus. Metrum et finem versus simul intonemus et simul dimittamus. Punctum nullus teneat sed cito dimittat. Post metrum bonam pausam faciamus. Nullus ante alios incipere et nimis currere presumat aut post alios trahere vel punctum tenere : simul cantemus, simul pausemus, semper auscultando.

A characteristic of this rule is its negative set up, its opposition to affected voices, protraction and any form of confusion. This criticism was evidently inspired by the practice customary in the congregation of Cluny. The high-pitched voices of the Cluniac monks, kept *graciles* [20] with licorice and costly sweetmeats, sounded thin and unmanly in the ears of the Cistercians. They reminded them too much of the minstrel-like and effeminate voices of secular music with its abhorrent delight in harmony. St Bernard himself criticised affected singing. With his usual mellifluence, and careful not to mention his opponents, he exhorted his listeners not to do what they did [21] :

... non oscitantes, non parcentes vocibus, non integra verba transilientes, non fractis et remissis vocibus muliebre quoddam balba de nare sonantes, sed virili... et sonitu et affectu voces spiritus sancti depromentes.

In fact, he did not fail to make some impression upon the Cluniacs. They discovered, among other things, that their psalmody could be improved upon. One of Peter the Venerable's statutes reads [22] :

Omnes versus regularium horarum, exceptis hymnis, sub una et mediocri repausatione decantentur, ita ut universorum voces simul cessuram versus finiant et post mediocrem, ut dixi, repausationem simul quoque

[19] See « St Bernard and the Instituta », *loc. cit.*, 105, where I have given some manuscripts and the full text.

[20] « Dialogus inter Cluniacensem et Cisterciensem de diversis utriusque Ordinis observantiis» in Martène-Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum* v, Paris, 1717, 1586. In the later Middle Ages the *vox gracilis* was not favoured for Gregorian chant. The Franciscan friar Guidolin, companion of the Minister general, John of Parma, optime cantabat in cantu melodiato, i.e. cantu fracto ; et de cantu firmo melius cantabat quam vocem haberet, quia valde gracilem vocem habebat ; Salimbene of Parma, « Chronica » in *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Script. xxxii, Hannover 1905-13, 552.

[21] « Super Canticum », sermo 47, n. 8 ; *PL* 183, 1011 : Vos moneo...

[22] « Statuta », n. 1 ; *PL* 189, 1026. Repeated by abbot Hugh V ; *PL* 209, 886, cap. 19.

aliam incipiant. Mediocrem vocavi, ad distinctionem illius quam quidam facere solent in cuius intervallo orationem dominicam, hoc est *Pater noster*, saepe bis quandoque ter, olim ipse consummavi. Unde tantam esse oportet, ut plene ab omnibus semper resumatur et mora ipsa labor cantantium allevietur.

Ab hac institutione cluniacensis tantum conventus exceptus est, ubi hoc servari non potest, quia ad istud nec diurnae horae nec nocturnae visae sunt posse sufficere [23].

Causa institutionis huius fuit, ut confusa distinctio cantantium, quam alii prius alii posterius et incipiebant et finiebant, uniretur et intellectus ipse, velut quodam communi silentio, simul pausando reformaretur et par (?) diurnarum sive nocturnarum horarum, in superfluis et minus utilibus rebus prius expensa, in tam utili et celesti divino opere expenderetur.

A more revealing text about the musical aesthetics of those days can hardly be produced either from the spiritual or technical literature of the twelfth century. The monks of Cluny, renowned for the external splendour of their liturgy, were still confronted with the fact that they were ignorant of what, at least according to our modern sense of proportion, is a fundamental requirement of any form of orderly psalmody. What they had failed to see must have been hidden for many others before them. The excessive hiatus between the two halves of the verses necessarily caused a continuous confusion and just made impossible what the Cistercians insisted upon, namely the uniformity of the voices : *simul intonemus, simul dimittamus... simul cantemus, simul pausemus.* The insistence on harmony in this respect is to be found in almost all regulations on the matter from the twelfth century onwards. It suggests that the new method of psalm singing had drawn attention to an element of beauty which heretofore had not been sufficiently appreciated.

It is difficult to indicate which tempo of singing actually corresponded to the long-drawn ceremonial pauses as practised at Cluny and elsewhere. In all probability it was exceedingly slow. So much so that attempts at uniformity made psalm singing into a real *labor cantantium* [24] and yet were doomed to fail. For not only is there the Cistercian criticism of too slow a tempo (*non nimis protrahamus*), but also Peter the Venerable's own statute seems to suggest that previously the psalm verses were aggravated by shorter breathing pauses which henceforth had to be omitted (*sub* UNA *et mediocri repausatione*). The existence of such shorter breathing pauses as distinct from the others is evident from various

[23] The text seems to be corrupt here.
[24] See at the end of the 1st paragraph of Peter the Venerable's statute.

sources [25]. And when the author of the Instituta Patrum of St Gall urges that each half of the psalm verses should be sung in one breath (*aspiratio* or *anhelitus*) [26], he shows indirectly that this was not a common practice [27]. Likewise the Cistercian Chapter of 1188, prescribing that the phrase *domine sancte pater omnipotens eterne deus* of the preface should be sung in the same breath, was well aware that not everybody was able to do so. Hence it allowed a pause after *pater* but rejected a division into three parts [28]. Reading and singing according to the sense of the punctuation of the text was and still is a fundamental requirement of any intelligible performance, especially of syllabic chants. The interesting point, however, is that even the psalms were often sung *punctatim* or *punctando*. This method has been recorded from all over the West [29] :

... officium celebretur punctatim videlicet atque tractim.

Punctatim psallendo Deo cantentque moroso.

... unus levet psalmos et punctatim sine syncopa legant psalmos et lectiones.

... horae canonicae, iuxta institutionem ecclesiasticam, de die tractatim, punctando et aperta pronuntiatione dicant.

The length of the single pause recommended by Peter the Venerable is defined by the double purpose of ceremonial division of the verse and the time needed for breathing. Its duration is said to

[25] The 13th-cent. tonale of the Austin Canons of Osney (Oxford), Bodleian library, Rawl. C. 939 (12770) has in the introduction, fol. 101r : Aiunt boni concines in omni cantu qui turmatim vel singillatim canitur duo esse genera pausationum : unum vid. ad recolligendum spiritum, quod breviter, aliud ad decorem tocius cantilene, quod prolixius fieri solet. Breviter : cum quilibet vocalis maiori notarum copia diutius protrahitur, vel, cum ad competentiora pausandi loca dum divisio partium vitatur, citius perveniri non potest... For a note on this manuscript see (van Dijk), *Latin liturgical manuscripts and printed books. Guide to an exhibition held during 1952*, Oxford 1952, no. 101. — « Sarum ordinale », Oxford, Corpus Christi College D. 44, fol. 194ra : Ut uniformitas in omnibus habeatur, metrum cum pausa in psalmocinando ab omnibus observetur, non protrahendo notule sed expedite cantentur cum frequentibus pausis que simul finiantur ab omnibus.

[26] *Loc. cit.*

[27] Humbert of Romans, for instance, warned the Dominicans not to pronounce many words in one breath, when they said Office in company outside choir. See presently, p. 23.

[28] J. M. Canivez, « Statuta Capitulorum generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis » i, Louvain 1933, 108 : Distinctio... in praefatione...

[29] St Nicholas', Bari (1304) in Ughelli, *Italia sacra* vii, 2nd ed., Venice 1721, 635. — Statutes of Regular Canons in verse ; ed. R. Duellius, *Miscellaneorum liber* i, Turin 1723, 86. — Statutes of Valencia (?), in *Concilia Hispaniae* 1723, 511. — Statutes of Elsing hospital, London (1331) in Dugdale, *op. cit.*, 705b,

be *mediocris*. This term, of course, is very relative. Since the Cistercians still insisted upon a *pausa bona*, one may accept that it was longer than what today would be known as such. This seems to be confirmed by a thirteenth-century statute of the English Black Monks who, though very progressive in their ideas about the shortening of the Office, still observed a *pausa morosa* [30] :

... inter *Kyrieleison*... et in metro similiter fiat pausacio morosa pariter et devota.

Meanwhile, the die was cast and, from the mid-twelfth century, the technique of psalm singing must have passed through a crisis which reveals itself in a constantly increasing number of details and differences of practice.

The ancient constitutions of the Dominicans, published about 1240, prescribed [31] :

Horae omnes in ecclesia breviter et succincte dicantur, ne fratres devotionem amittant et eorum studium minime impediatur. Quod ita dicimus esse faciendum : ut in medio versus metrum cum pausa servetur, non protrahendo vocem in pausa vel in fine versus, sed, sicut dictum est, breviter et succincte terminetur.

Hoc tamen magis et minus pro tempore observetur.

The Franciscan legislation is to be found in their *Ordinationes divini Officii*, a series of liturgical statutes, excerpted from a ceremonial of the papal court and published in the years 1244-51 [32] :

Item, psalmodia cum plane dicitur, distincte et tractim dicatur, ita quod finitis versibus ex una parte, alia incipiat, maxime in officio beate virginis et mortuorum.

Quando vero cantatur, non fiant protractio in puncto metri sed pausa conveniens et equalis.

The rules of the Austin Friars which have been derived from the same source as those of the Friars Minor have a slightly different reading. In all probability it is nearer to the original [33] :

Psalmodia et aliud officium cum sine nota dicitur, distincte dicatur, ita quod finitis versibus ab uno choro alius incipiat. Et idem in officio beate virginis et mortuorum observetur.

[30] W. A. Pantin, « Documents illustrating the activities... of the English Black Monks », *Camden Third Series* xlv, London 1931, 96, no. 2.

[31] *Analecta sacri Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum* ii, Rome 1895, 624b.

[32] Ed. G. Golubovich in *Arch. Franc. Hist.* iii, 1910, 66, no. 44. The reading here given is according to a new critical edition which will appear in « The Ordines of Haymo of Faversham and related documents of the Roman liturgy » in the *Henry Bradshaw Society* collection.

[33] Padua, bibl. universitaria 1551, fol. 4 (cap. 3).

Quando vero cantatur psalmodia ... [etc.] ... et equalis.
Metrum vero et in fine versuum simul intonemus et simul dimittamus. Nullus ante alios incipere et currere presumat aut post alios trahere vel punctum tenere. Simul cantemus et simul pausemus [34].

To the modern mind the ordinances might appear as examples of incompetent rule-making by superiors, who failed to consult experts in the matter. However, the reason of their incompleteness, not to say haphazardness, is not difficult to guess. Like the Cistercian psalmody in the twelfth century, the chant of the Mendicants in the thirteenth was a reaction against and another criticism of the long Offices which destroyed devotion, external activity and study in many monasteries. In this respect the Dominican constitutions are unambiguous. Naturally, the points about which discussion had been going on were especially stressed and recommended.

On the other hand, the opposition was not the same everywhere. The Dominican pauses conformed more to the tradition of the monks than those of the other friars. Their clause *Hoc tamen magis et minus pro tempore observetur* recalls the ancient principle according to which the tempo of singing and the length of the pauses depended on the rite and solemnity of the Office. In fact, Humbert of Romans, Master General of the Order, commenting on this clause, notes that on feast days, when the friars are free from lectures and study, there is no reason to curtail the Office : *cessat pro multa parte causa abbreviandi officium* [35]. Hence it is seemly that they perform it more slowly. This idea was not new and already defended by the author of the Instituta Patrum [36], Anselm of Havelberg [37] and others :

Festivis namque diebus in omni cantu punctum et pausam non omittamus. Privatis autem diebus sic psallemus et cantemus, ut nullus tepidus aut desidiosus aliquam, astute cavillando, possit habere excusationem.

... ad rectorum Ordinis pertinebit, mediae distinctionis silentio interdum propter collectam populi vel aliam rationabilem causam obmisso, correptius canere vel rursus, absente populo, solemnizandi gratia aliquantum protrahere...

[34] This paragraph goes back on the regulation of the ps-St Bernard ; see, above, p. 11.

[35] « Expositio constitutionum » ; ed. Berthier in *Opera de vita regulari*, Rome 1889, 110.

[36] See « St Bernard and the Instituta », *loc. cit.*, 105, where this text follows almost immediately after *Dum hymnos*.

[37] *Loc. cit.*, immediately after the text quoted in note 8.

The Cistercians and Carthusians themselves observed something similar at the beginning of every Hour and Mass [38] :

Dicto itaque *Deus in adiutorium*... morose trahendo... *Domine ad adiuvandum*... eadem morositate et gravitate compleatur... Factaque pausatione ante *Gloria patri* et ante *Sicut erat*, etiam si sequentia citius dicenda sunt.

Nostri definiere maiores cuiuslibet horae initium, videlicet *Deus in adiutorium* usque *Sicut erat*, cum gravitate magna protrahi debere ac correspondentibus punctis et pausis proferri. Hoc idem protulere de introitus missae versu cum tota *Gloria* quae subinfertur.

The Franciscans, however, following the usage of the papal court, went further. The papal chaplains may have been trying to keep their additional Offices to a minimum but they were unable to escape either the customary ones of Our Lady and the Dead or the Penitential and Gradual Psalms. In the course of the twelfth century they seem to have followed the monastic way of psalm singing. When the pope officiated in the Lateran, the canons of the adjacent monastery sometimes joined in with the chant of the papal chaplains. On such occasions they still sang *tractim* and *spatiose* [39]. As time went on and the activities of the papal court became more and more absorbing, the chaplains no longer believed in this monastic way of solemnising. Often on feast days they had to assist at papal services and were more occupied than on ferias. If they were free, they preferred to have a bit of a rest. Sometime during the second half of the twelfth century or, which is more probable, shortly before the coming of the friars, they shortened the psalmody itself by eliminating not only the long pauses — as in fact the Dominicans did — but also any kind of, say, solemnity pauses. Henceforth they made a *pausa conveniens* which, moreover, was *aequalis*, i.e. always of the same length, regardless of the solemnity of the feast. In other words, unlike the Dominicans, who only considered working days to be a *causa abbreviandi*, they made always short pauses and, very likely, practised the more speedy tempo of singing which corresponded to them. *Semper breviabant officium*, lamented Ralph of Tongres [40]. Ralph's terminology is exact. But it is doubtful

[38] « Consuetudines », cap. 68 ; *ed. cit.*, 162. Another motive for changing the tempo is mentioned in the statutes of 1175, Canivez, *loc. cit.*, 83, n. 22 : Tempore quo conventus infra terminos laborat, ore citius cantent. See also « Constitutiones », cap. 115 ; *ed. cit.* 236.

Denys the Carthusian (van Leuwe), « Contra inordinationem detestabilem cordis in Dei laudibus », art. 23, in *Opuscula aliquot quae ad theologiam mysticam egregie instituunt*, Monsterolii 1894, 614. The edition reads *cunctis* instead of *punctis*.

[39] Bernard of Porto, « Ordo officiorum ecclesiae Lateranensis » ; ed. L. Fischer, Munich 1916, 73, n. 165 ; 129, n. 258 ; 158, n. 301 ; 139, n. 273.

[40] See « Historical liturgy », *loc. cit.*, 168.

whether he understood the source from which he copied these words. His insistence on and incessant hunt for details which might prove the textual shortness of the papal Office give the impression that he was unaware of what actually had happened in the domain of the music. Thus modern liturgists have never realised that one of the most typical curtailments of the thirteenth-century Roman liturgy was the speeding up of the tempo by reduction of the pauses and the abolition of the principle : the slower the better, i.e. the more solemn.

* * *

The reason why the friars rejected the long pauses was both of an aesthetical and practical nature. So was their opposition to the *protractio vocis*. Once more the Dominican constitutions are unambiguous. And again they are confirmed by Humbert of Romans' commentary. Referring to the well-known passage of St Bernard's 47th sermon on the Canticles [41], he states : the Office is not so much deformed and prolonged by the neglect of what Bernard recommended — Bernard's *non parcentes vocibus*, etc. is so beside the point that Humbert must refer to the practice of the Cistercians rather than to this particular admonition — as it would be by omission of the pauses and lengthening of the final syllables. Both must be sedulously avoided [42].

In fact, it was a widespread conviction that those who omitted the pauses were the welcome victims of Titivillus' devilishly sharp hearing [43] or might be subject to a special cure, like the priest who used to say Office ' most corruptly '. One day when he was in a great hurry, satan lifted him up and, throwing him down with might and main, said : *Dixit dominus domino meo*. Then after a long pause (*magna mora*), he lifted him up again and, once more flinging him down, completed the psalm verse, saying : *sede a dextris meis* [44]. He who ' syncopates ' the text and jumps the pauses only ill-serves himself. On the other hand, those who prolong the pauses do harm to others. They annoy the church-goers and drive the people away from their ' solemn ' services. Anselm of Havelberg rightly thought that this was worse. He advised his canons to sing

[41] See, above, note 21.

[42] « Expositio », *ed, cit.*, 106.

[43] See G. Huard, « A propos de Titivillus » in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* cvii, 1947-48, 92 ff. See also « St Bernard and the Instituta », *loc. cit.*, 109. — It should also be noted that Titivillus seems to have been « discovered » by the early Cistercians.

[44] Cambridge, University library, Ee. v. 13, fol. 68 : Legitur in libro de miraculis beatissime Marie virginis quod erat quidam sacerdos in provincia Burgundie qui corruptissime (correptissime?) dicebat officium...

speedily and omit the ceremonial pauses, whenever, on feasts, the people came to their churches [45].

Meanwhile, the 'protraction of the voice' in psalm singing, as practiced, for instance, at St Gall during the twelfth century [46], does not have its origin only in the slow tempo of singing. By tradition the Carthusians made three long notes in each half of the psalm verses : the first note, the highest one just before the melody descended and the last note but one. Denys van Leuwe (d. 1471) states explicitly [47] :

> Tres notas in cantu protrahere in Ordine nostro habemus ex more, scilicet primam in intonando, superiorem in descendendo et penultimam in pausando et terminando ; primam ad imponendum cantum in tono suo, superiorem ad sustentandum cantum in esse suo sive tono, penultimam ad voces recolligendum, ut aequaliter terminetur totum.

Like the friars, they did not prolong the final syllable before the pause either in the middle of the verse or at the end. The reason for this is given in the Carthusian constitutions : the duty of a monk, it is said [48], is to lament rather than to sing. Therefore, he should so chant that his heart rejoices in lament rather than in song. This can be secured by cutting out what gives pleasure in singing, such as the *fractio* and *inundatio* of the voice and the *geminatio* of the final notes which are more the marks of singularity than of plain (*simplex*) chant. From this it would seem, first of all, that the singing of the Carthusians — which did not fail to make an impression [49] — was just as reactionary as that of the Cistercians. In fact, the liturgical chant of the twelfth-century monks was as much the expression of their asceticism and austerity as their whole life was meant to be an antidote for and a reaction against the prevailing Romanesque wealth, a consequence of the Carolingian monasticism.

The musical activity of St Bernard and his collaborators is well known but, it should be said once, often ill-judged. Their ideas of contemporary practices may have been stern, not seldom unartistic, not always free from self-conceit and arbitrariness. The drastic and rough product of cutting and shortening neums may often have been unsatisfactory — the Premonstratensians [50] had found this out

[45] See, above, p. 15.

[46] « St Bernard and the Instituta », *loc. cit.*, 105, 107.

[47] *Op. cit.*, 614.

[48] « Constitutiones », dist. i, cap. 39.

[49] « Regula Ss. Salvatoris », cap. 4, in *S. Brigittae revelationes extravagantes* ; ed. G. Durandus a S. Angelo, Antwerp 1611, 683 : Cantus non sit remissus, non fractus, non dissolutus, ... imitenturque illorum cantum qui Cartusienses vocantur, quorum psalmodia plus redolet suavitatem mentis... quam aliquam ostentationem.

[50] *Ordinarium* ; ed. PL. F. Lefèvre, Louvain 1941, 7 (cap. 3).

before the Cistercians themselves [51] realised it. Nevertheless, it should be borne in mind that St Bernard's search for ancient tradition, for simplicity of melody, for theory and fixed rules of composition was not just pedantry. The reform of St Benedict of Aniane had been interpreted as a 'Magna Charta' of liturgical liberty. Without any restraint the monks had prolonged not only the texts but also every type of liturgical music. The inventions of tropes and sequences were only trifles in the continuous process of musical 'embellishment' of the existing repertoire: kyriale, alleluia and offertory verses, neums and jubili of antiphons and responsories. St Bernard may appear to have been reactionary but so had been the Carolingian monks. The excesses had become evident by now. The Cistercians, in a certain sense, were going back-to-tradition. They had the same right of clipping away as their confrères had of 'touching up'. Hence the chant of the Romanesque Age was based on a different appreciation of religious and aesthetic principles. It was imbued with soberness of expression. In the light of history it is hard to decide whether the reaction was more excessive than the evolution.

The protractions in whatever form they had been practised were reduced. If, at first, they were abandoned as a sign of sorrow, as for instance during the last three days of Holy Week [52]:

> ... in fine psalmorum non dicatur *Gloria patri* nec in responsoriis. nec finis subtrahatur antiphonis. versus pleniter dicatur. non subtrahendo finem.

soon they were restricted to the greater antiphons of vespers and lauds, as for instance in the following rubric [53]:

> ... nulla antiphona geminatur, nisi illa que in vesperis ad *Magnificat* et in matutinis ad *Benedictus* dicitur.

This *geminatio* of antiphon melodies was entirely unknown to the Dominican and Franciscan chant books. What is more; many a final neum of solo chants, such as graduals and responsories, is apparently shorter than in other contemporary books. For the Franciscans, who copied their books and music from those of the papal court, it will be difficult to prove that they acted under in-

[51] Statute of 1191, n. 50, in Canivez, *op. cit.*, 143: Ad missas matutinales dicatur totum neuma in fine responsorii et versus propter dissonantias quae contingunt; et sententia illa eradatur de Usibus...

[52] *Ordo* for Holy Week, printed by A. Vezzosi in J. M. Thomasi, *Opera Omnia* iv, Rome 1749, 325. Also in the Antiphonal of St Peter's, Sondrio (?), N. Italy, Oxford, Bodleian library. Can. liturg., 202 (19314), fol. 66 v. See « Latin liturgical manuscripts », no. 52.

[53] Choir breviary of Braga, cathedral (?) (Portugal), Oxford, Bodleian library, Lat. liturg. e. 12 (35185), fol. 592. See « Latin liturgical manuscripts », no. 67.

fluence of the reactionary movement or rather preserved the Roman tradition which had remained outside the enchanted circle of Carolingian monasticism.

After all this, it cannot be difficult to trace the history of the *geminatio* or *protractio* of the final notes during the singing of the psalms. Though the Carthusians were averse to the *geminatio*, they did not entirely abolish it. When they used it, apparently with great reserve, they were not merely doubling or prolonging the final syllable. Monosyllables and non-Latin words had to be 'geminated', in the same manner as the interrogatory phrases of the epistles and gospels [54]. And how this was done is explained in this way [55] :

... nec fit metrum sed punctum sursum in quo est interrogatio.

Here the *geminatio* was an ascending note or neum on the last syllable. The term, therefore, was a less technical word for a well known form of flourishing, namely the so called *differentiae* which form such an important part in the early medieval tonaria [56]. They were clauses in the form of a neum, some of which exist up to the present day. A case which gives the impression of a real *geminatio* is the cadence sol-la sol-fa-mi-re in the psalm tone of the first mode. John of Affligem, better known under the erroneous name of John Cotton, listed these *differentiae* in three main groups [57]. By the fourteenth century, their number had been greatly reduced and the last notes were short [58].

... quaedam [voces sunt] morose in quibus prolixior cadit temporis morula respectu aliarum ad modum sillabarum longarum respectu brevium, ut voces penultime ante pausas et ultime, nisi forte in psalmodia in qua communiter ultime debent esse subitanee et sine protractione tam in circumflexionibus quam in punctis elevatis, quantum etiam et in versuum psalmorum finalibus terminationibus.

Another product of late Carolingian monasticism which had such a profound but not always well balanced influence upon early Christian civilisation in the West had been brought back to more reasonable proportions. The practice advocated by the author of the Instituta Patrum is one of the indications that on this subject the older generation at St Gall was not yet past childhood.

[54] « Constitutiones », dist. i, cap. 50.

[55] *Loc. cit.*

[56] See F. X. Mathias, « Die Tonarien. Inaugural Dissertation... der Universität Leipzig », Graz 1903.

[57] *De musica cum tonario*, cap. 22 ; ed. J. Smits van Waesberghe in *Corpus scriptorum de musica* i, Rome 1950, 153 ff.

[58] James of Oudenaerde (?), « Speculum musicae », lib vi, cap. 71 ; Coussemaker, *Scriptores* ii, 303.

* * *

Putting two and two together, one may say that the typical features which distinguished the thirteenth-century methods of psalm singing from those of the preceding Romanesque age can be summed up in the words *breviter* and *succincte*.[59] *Breviter* seems to exclude every protraction of final notes : *succincte* may refer to the suppression of every long note or pause which was not the ceremonial one in the middle of the verse. For the Dominicans both terms were relative according to the solemnity of the feast. The papal court and, consequently, the Franciscans and Austin Friars did not know this distinction, at least not during the thirteenth century.

Unlike the Franciscans and Augustinian *Ordinationes* quoted above [60], the Dominican legislation does not distinguish between recitation and chant. The Canonical Hours in those days were still supposed to be sung. However, Humbert of Romans knew both forms. In connection with the Offices of Our Lady and the Dead, he points out [61] that in smaller houses, where the friars were overloaded with work, they were allowed to say these Offices *sine cantu*. Humbert warns them against confusion. It could be avoided if recitation was done *multum tractim* and *distincte* with the *pausae debitae* [62]. In fact, the terminology of the recited office centres around these three points.

' Distinction ' is obviously related to the correct pronunciation of the text and as such cannot be typical of recitation only. In fact, it was, at times, required for chanted psalmody [63]. In these cases, however, the term does not refer to the intensity or clarity of the voice but to exactness of pronunciation which may suffer either by excessively slow and quick tempos or even low intonation. Such an example is to be found in the Cistercian constitutions, when they warned against lack of audibility. This might occur during the last three days of Holy Week, when, except for matins and lauds, the pitch of the chant was lower than usual [64] :

[59] Exactly the same wording is used by the council of Bourges in 1214 ; Mansi, *Concilia* xxii, 932, cap. 5.

[60] See, above, p. 14 f.

[61] See, above, p. 15.

[62] In the 13th cent. the monks of Subiaco made a pausa perfecta whenever a long note (punctum) occurred. It consisted of *communi cursu anhelitum dimittendo et postea resumendo* ; *Consuetudines et caeremoniae*, ed. L. Allodi, Subiaco 1902, 11. This pause probably was shorter than the ceremonial one in the middle of the verses.

[63] Note 8.

[64] « Consuetudines », cap. 21 ; *ed. cit.*, 113.

Hinc completorium remissius mediocri voce dicatur, ita tamen ut sonus psalmodie clare et distincte resonet. Quod etiam abhinc omnibus horis in psalmodia et cantu, exceptis vigiliis et laudibus, usque ad vesperum pasche fiat.

In this case *distincte* is not equivalent of *clare* and to be translated by 'accurately' rather than 'clearly'. It excludes confusion of syllables and, in fact, is synonymous with *aperte*. Since both terms were also used for the clarity of handwriting [65], the meaning becomes strikingly obvious :

Verba canonis rotunde dicantur et distincte, nec ex festinatione contracta nec ex diuturnitate nimis protracta... Similiter omnes hore et omnia officia aperte et distincte dicantur, ita quod ex festinatione nimia non precidantur vel syncopentur [66].

Qui autem cantant, distincte proferant et aperte, non transiliendo, neque transcurrendo vel syncopando, sed cum debita reverentia [67].

Distincte = ne verbum masticando vel exiliter proferendo vel nimium festinando dicenda confundant [fratres] [68].

Distincte = ut omnia verba distincte proferantur et ante terminationem versus alterius [chori] alter non incipiatur [69].

In the last text particularly, the warning against too much haste on the part of the choir, which has to intone the subsequent psalm verse, is noteworthy. The 'accuracy' of psalm singing and recitation here is the opposite of overlapping choirs, a defect which is also condemned by the Franciscan and Augustinian *Ordinationes* [70]. The fact that the term *distincte* was connected with this defect throws an unexpected light on the interpretation of these two versions of the papal ceremonial. The Franciscan *Ordinationes* appear to be little more than an unfinished extract of the latter, made probably by Haymo of Faversham, in order to serve as a basis of a thorough revision founded on principles which he applied in his *Ordo* for private and conventual Mass on ferial days [71]. A sudden

[65] D. Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae* i, London 1737, 624 (1229) ; B. Bughetti, « Statutum pro libris choralibus scribendis » in *Arch. Franc. Hist.*, xxi; 1928, 409 (O.F.M. *c.* 1255-60).

[66] Wilkins, *op. cit.*, 505 (London 1200) ; in Mansi, *Concilia* xxii, 713. See also Wilkins, *loc. cit.*, 579 (Durham 1220) and 615 (Scotland), and the Sarum constitutions of Richard Poore (1223) in W. Rich Jones - W. Dunn Macray, *Charters and documents... of Salisbury*, Rolls Series, London 1891, 147, n. 54.

[67] Wilkins, *loc. cit.*, 549 (Dublin 1217), in Mansi, *loc. cit.*, 927.

[68] Humbert of Romans, *op. cit.*, 107, n. 35.

[69] Bernard of Bess, « Speculum disciplinae », lib. 1, cap. 16 ; in St Bonaventura, *Opera omnia* viii, Quaracchi 1908, 597, n. 3.

[70] See, above, p. 14 f.

[71] See my « Notae quaedam de liturgia Franciscana mediante saec. xiii » in *Ephemerides liturg.* liv, 1940, 140 ff.

death prevented him from doing so. His notes, however, — found, so to say, on his table — were published shortly afterwards and soon proved to be highly unsatisfactory. The *Ordinationes* of the Austin Friars are more easily understandable and less fragmentary. In the text under discussion the words *et tractim* have been interpolated in the Franciscan version while the adjective *maxime* has taken the place of the original *et idem... observetur*. This change, among other things, obscured the meaning of *distincte* in this context. It is unmistakably that of the last text above quoted from Bernard of Bess. *Tractim* may have some relation to the accuracy (distinction) of the pronunciation ; it certainly has nothing to do with the succession of the two parts of the choir.

This, finally, brings us to consider the meaning of *tractim* in itself. The moment that long pauses and slow tempo of singing were abolished, this word seems to have become typical of recitation. Like most terms already discussed its meaning is rather ambiguous. There are three possible solutions : it may be translated by ' slowly ', by ' deliberately ' or ' continuously '. The first meaning seems to have been behind the expression, used at the universities, of *legere tractim*, i.e. for dictation [72]. It cannot be given to the Franciscan and Dominican documents in question. Their insistence upon speediness of singing and Humbert of Romans' approval of occasional recitation because of external activity are incompatible with the idea of a ' slow ' performance. Humbert, in fact, gives it the sense of ' deliberately ', i. e. in so far as the clear pronunciation of the words requires a certain slowness of diction not to be found in the ordinary way of speaking. Describing the Office said out of church but in company of others, Humbert notes [73] that the constitutions do not bind the friars to the custom of some religious who — even then — make ceremonial pauses. Still, he continues, they are to say the Office : *integre, proprie, aperte, distincte, morose, attente* and *reverenter* [74]. And the meaning of *morose* is : not to say many words *cursim* and in one breath but so *tractim* and with so many breathing pauses (*respiratio*) that all can pronounce everything. Just as protraction has to be avoided in singing, so has speed in reading. *Tractim* here is evidently the opposite of *cursim* but not necessarily the equivalent of ' slowly '.

For recitation in choir Humbert recommended that the Office should be said *multum tractim, distincte* and *cum pausis debitis* [75].

[72] See, above, note 18.

[73] « Expositio » ; *ed. cit.*, 106, n. 34.

[74] *Loc. cit.*, 107, n. 35. Bernard of Bess, *loc. cit.*, 597, requires it to be : distincte, continue, integre et ordinate.

[75] See, above, p. 21.

The reason which he gives for this greater care is not of a technical or aesthetical nature but merely 'because reverence demands it' [76], an argument which, of course, does not need further explanation except perhaps that it was a big word in favour of tradition. The question, however, is what Humbert meant by *pausae debitae*. Does he mean breathing pauses or ceremonial pauses or perhaps both? Or is his combination of *multum tractim* with the 'necessary pauses' the same as *tractatim punctando?* [77] In that case the Dominican method of choral recitation might have been a simpler form of psalm singing by punctuation.

This brings us to *tractim* = continuously, which is the equivalent of 'without hiatus'. In this sense it is more strictly *succincte* which was used for singing. It excludes the ceremonial pause in the middle of the verse which is essential to the Gregorian psalm tones but not to recitation. Outside choir, whether alone or in company, the Dominicans said their psalms straight off. *Aliqui religiosi*, however, made ceremonial pauses, and Humbert's testimony is confirmed not only by the hard-handed way in which the devil taught that Burgundian priest [78] but also by a statute issued in 1244 for the Trappist congregation of La Val des Choux: [79]

Dum cantantur horae privatae, pausatio fiat in psalmodia ad metrum.

I have been unable to find a text in which *tractim* can only have the meaning of 'without ceremonial pauses'. Yet, there is evidence that such pauses were also disregarded when the Office was recited in choir. In 1278 a Chapter of the English Black Monks decreed that the *psalmodia submissa* of certain non-canonical Hours should be changed into a performance with the *vox mediocris* and a pause *in metro* [80], i.e. in the middle of the verse. Henceforth recitation was to be replaced by chant. And the explicit reference to the ceremonial pause strongly suggests that previous practice was different. It is in this light that the Augustinian and Franciscan regulations [81] obtain a special significance. A 'distinct' diction of the 'plain' or recited psalmody is obtained by avoiding overlapping choir. Nothing, however, is said about a ceremonial pause. Yet, when psalm singing comes up for discussion, the first and only warning is against its traditional treatment. In other words, the danger of prolonging the

[76] Humbert, *loc. cit.*
[77] See, above, p. 13.
[78] See p. 14.
[79] Martène-Durand, « Thesaurus novus » iv; *ed. cit.*, 1662.
[80] Pantin, *op. cit.*, 98, n. 28.
[81] See, above, p. 14 f.

punctum metri did not exist during the recited Office. And why not? Because recitation was supposed to be done without any

- Psalmodia
  - plana
    - (quoad vocem)
      - balbutiendo, mastinando
      - voce nimis remissa, etc.
      - voce submissa or suppressa
    - (quoad textum)
      - corrupte
        - cursim, festinanter
        - syncopando, transiliendo
        - overlapping choirs, etc.
      - distincte
        - outside choir
          - privatim
            - vocaliter, tacite
            - secreto
            - viva or audibili voce
          - in company
            - morose, tractim cum respirationibus (breathing pauses)
            - with ceremonial pauses
        - in conventu
          - tractim (continuously)
          - sub una repausatione
          - punctatim(?)
          - multum tractim cum pausis debitis
  - in nota[82]
    - (quoad vocem)
      - voce mediocri
        - tonatim,
        - sine strepitu
        - aequa lance
      - voce gracili
    - (quoad cantum)
      - cum protractione
        - tractim et spatiose
        - cum geminatione, fractione
        - prima, superiori et penultima nota
      - non protrahendo
        - sine geminatione
        - breviter et succincte
    - (quoad pausas)
      - sub una repausatione
        - long
          - relative duration
          - 2 Our Fathers
          - mediocris
          - bona
          - morosa
        - short
          - relative duration
          - conveniens et
          - aequalis,
          - modica
      - ceremonial and breating pauses
      - pausae perfectae
      - punctatim

pause. Hence in the recited Office of the chaplains of St Elisabeth College, Winchester, the ceremonial pause is only mentioned in connection with chant [83]. In the recited Office the ceremonial pause perhaps became general during the Renaissance when recitation being

[82] For want of details I have not made a separate distinction for the Office sung privately which, indeed, was not exceptional.

[83] See, above, p. 10.

the normal performance of the Canonical Hours, was stylised on principles fundamental to chant. Just as the changing attitude of the Romanesque period altered the Carolingian concept of the latter, so the spreading of recitation put an end to the medieval idea that public worship was a solemn function for which recitation in choir was only a form of making up for chant.

The relationship between the various terms here considered and the corresponding methods of medieval psalmody may be shown in the scheme printed on the preceding page. For obvious reasons it is far from complete or adequate. I use the terminology of the documents mentioned above, unless it is printed between brackets or translated into English.

ABU'L-ṢALT'S TREATISE ON MUSIC

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Umayya ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn Abu'l-Ṣalt (1068-1134) is usually counted among the scholars of Arabian music, though his writings on this science have been lost and not yet rediscovered (1). There is only an assumption that his treatise on music has been preserved and transmitted to us in its Hebrew version (1, 2).

Abu'l-Ṣalt, of Andalusia in Spain, practised as a scholar of natural science in mathematics, engineering, medicine, and astronomy at the courts of Cairo and Mahdiyya (Tunise). Some of his works (4) also came to be known beyond the Arab world. A paper on medicine and pharmacology, for instance, was translated both into Latin and Hebrew (2) ; and a sentence from his musical work was quoted in 1403 by a Hebrew philosopher and grammarian (5).

Moriz Steinschneider (3, 2), the famous Hebrew bibliographer, already in 1850 pointed out that Abu'l-Ṣalt's treatise on music is probably identical with Part A of the Paris Hebrew Ms No. 1037 ; he discussed afterwards the placing of this treatise in the work of the author, as far as it is known to us from Arab bibliographers. In the subsequent lines, this mere assumption shall be founded and rectified after a proper examination of the Ms in its whole extent (cf. also 6).

1. *The manuscript.* The National Library in Paris keeps a Hebrew Ms (Fonds Hébreu No. 1037) from the rich stock of the former Oratoire (Orat. No. 207). It contains 29 fols. (paper, 13 × 20 cms.). The catalogue (7) suggests that it was written in the 15th century. With its clean and uniform quadrat letters, it presents an externally good appearance, and is certainly the work of a skilled, rather conscientious, but hired writer who had no idea of the subject. Regarding the contents, the Ms exhibits the character of a collection concentrating musical papers which happened to be available in Hebrew at a certain time in some given place : For there is no connection among its single parts, neither in origin nor in the style of translation. The contents of the Ms is composed of the following parts :

(a) fol. 1b-20b : Treatise on music by Abu'l-Ṣalt (for particulars see below). — fol. 21a-22a remained blank.

(b) fol. 22b-27b : A treatise, translated by an unidentified Y'hudah, son of Rabbi Yiṣḥaq the martyr, apparently from a Latin original. The text represents a stage of musicological development corresponding to the first half of the 12th century. There is also a preface of the translator in rhymed prose, and a supplement on the mensuration of organ-pipes and other instruments from an earlier source (8).

(c) fol. 28a-29a : Collectaneous notes from the (oral?) teachings of Marchettus de Padua (ab. 1300). — fol. 29b is blank.

Neither the collector, nor the man who ordered and possessed this varied Ms is known. But it may be assumed that he lived in Southern France — Provence — where French, Spanish, and Italian civilizations mixed together. This is also the country where Lewi ben Gershom (Gersonides, Leo Hebraeus) wrote in 1342 his book « De numeris harmonicis » for Philipp de Vitry, bishop of Meaux and author of the famous musical treatise *Ars nova*. Our Ms may with some probability be put into this period and vicinity.

2. *The translation and state of tradition.* Contrary to the common use and to Part B of the Ms, there is no reference to the translator. This is caused by the fact that the treatise of Abu'l-Ṣalt is as we shall see later, only a part of a larger work. But it is noticed from the sudden change in musical terms that two different translators shared the work without proper coordination :

	Translator A	*Translator B*
consonance	haskamah	otut
dissonant	bilti maskim	mitraḥeq
interval	merḥaq	riḥuq
rhythm	n'filah	m'nuḥah
systema teleion	qibbuṣ shalem	qibbuṣ tamim

The dividing line is on fol. 16a (Chapter IV, 3). The musical terms in this Part A of the Ms do not correspond with that chosen by Y'hudah ben Yiṣḥaq (the translator of the Latin source in Part B); M. Zotenberg's conjecture of identity in the translators must therefore be refused.

The translation is very dependent in its style on the Arab source. It is rather accurate in general, but often cumbersome. The translators made ample use of the Hebrew philosophical terminology created by the school of Thibbonides in Southern France (12th-13th cent.). Many musical terms occur in an appropriate Hebrew version (9) ; but some Arab terms remained untranslated, in particular names of musical instruments and their parts.

It is regrettable that in the Ms of Paris the original translation

was put down by a very careless copyist. For good reasons the writer of the Paris Ms admitted that he copied from « a very intricate text ». One observes, indeed, many omissions, errors in figures, and confusion in the letters of indication in the sketches. The sketches themselves were omitted save one, partly without any apology, partly with the easy argument that they were unnecessary. They may be reconstructed from the writings of other Arabian Theorists, as we can do with the corrupt Arabic words.

3. *The treatise and its place in Abu'l-Ṣalt's work.* The heading of the treatise reads as follows : « The fourth Fen (chapter) of the second part : On the science of music ». The text begins slightly corrupt and must be read (hayyaqar taken for a translation of al-'Aziz) : « Umayya ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz Abu al-Ṣalt says : We are now to close the preceding disciplines of mathematics with a treatise on the science of music ». Music is clearly designated here as the fourth and last discipline of mathematics which, in its part, exhibit the second division of the book. These informations enable us to realize the scheme and character of the entire work : It was an encyclopedia of sciences following the Aristotelian scheme as it was used (with some modifications and variations) in medieval times by Arab and Jewish philosophers (10). Mathematics is placed in the usual manner between physics and metaphysics or, as in Al-Fārābī's writings on logic (11), as second division after the four philosophical sciences. Mathematics is further subdivided in the quadrivium: arithmetics, geometry, astronomy, and music. This traditional fourth place of the second division was held by music also in Abu'l-Ṣalt's book.

An encyclopedia of sciences has not yet been mentioned among the works of this author, but only a compendium and a separate « Risala fi'l-musīqī », a « paper on music ». As this is a very insignificant name, not a real title of a book, one is inclined to assume that the Arab bibliographers knew only single, separately circulating parts of the entire encyclopedia, as might also have been the case of the same author's treatise on geometry (2).

The title of the encyclopedic work has already been revealed by Steinschneider (2) pointing to its quotation in the Hebrew literature : Profiat Duran quotes in his grammar « Ma'asseh Efod » of 1403 (5) : « Abu al-Ṣalt said in his Book baHaspaqah in the treatise on music... » (follows a sentence from chapter I, 1 in a translation different from that of the Paris Ms, probably the author's own version). The « Sefer baHaspaqah by Al-Ṣalt » is also mentioned in marginal notes of the Munich Hebrew Ms No. 290 (fol. 44b ; 45b) relating to a problem of aspects.

Steinschneider (2) proposes to identify the « Sefer baHaspaqah »

with Abu'l-Ṣalt's compendium Al-wajīz (« The Brevity »), but he must admit that « haspaqah » would be an « awkward » translation. The word haspaqah means : sufficiency, satisfaction, sufficient provision or supply (12). So the original title of the book might have been in Arabic « Kitāb al-kāfī fi'l'ulum ». This version parallels the title of a musical compendium of Ibn Zaila (died 1048) « Kitāb al-kāfī fi'l-musīqī » (13).

In the end of the preface to his treatise, Abu'l-Ṣalt refers to the aim of his work with these words : « We started to bring forward on this (subject) — narrow is the way pursued in this book — what is insufficiently found elsewhere, and the unnecessary is omitted ». This is the clear programme of a short manual which endeavours yet to afford a « sufficient provision » of knowledge.

4. *The contents of the treatise and its classification.* As regards the performance of his task, Abu'l-Ṣalt follows closely the Kitābu'l-musīqī al-Kabīr of Al-Fārābī (14). But he modified the disposition of this standard work in a more independent manner. It may be useful to review the classification of Abu'l-Ṣalt in order to confront it with that of his great master.

Umayya ibn Abu'l-Ṣalt : TREATISE ON MUSIC
= Part II, 4 of Kitāb al-kāfī fi'l-ulūm (?).

Preface.

Chapter I.	Par. 1.	« Elements and fundamental notions » ; Theoretical and practical music ; « Materia » and « forma ». — The single note ; causes of deepness and height ; the interval.
	Par. 2.	Multiplication, division, addition, and subtraction of intervals.
Chapter II.	Par. 1.	The principal notes and intervals.
	Par. 2.	The « strong genus » (diatonic tetrachord).
	Par. 3.	The « weak genus » (chromatic tetrachord).
	Par. 4.	The « medium genus » (enharmonic tetrachord).
Chapter III.	Par. 1.	The kinds of « systems » (systema teleion).
	Par. 2.	Combination and mixture of « systems ».
Chapter IV.	Par. 1.	Al-Qanūn.
	Par. 2.	Al-Barbat (Al-'Ūd).
	Par. 3.	Al-Ṭanābīr.
	Par. 4.	Al-Rabāb.
Chapter V.	Par. 1.	Direction of melody.
	Par. 2.	The rhythm (Al-īqā'). — Text badly corrupt.

This classification does not conform to that of Al-Fārābī, as the later's Introduction and a part of Book I, 1 mingle together in Abu'l-Ṣalt's chapter I, 1 ; and Fārābī's Book II (on instruments) has been inserted by his follower into the middle of the subjects treated in the original Book I, 2. The latter author points to this change in the end of his chapter III, 2 without giving any explanation.

Abu'l-Ṣalt obviously endeavours to follow more closely Aristotle's scheme of classification. The abstractions « Science - Art » (theoretical and practical music), and « Materia - Forma » of the ancient master are introduced by him in the beginning of chapter I, 1. They are no more mentioned throughout the entire book ; but considering the composition of Abu'l-Ṣalt's treatise carefully, the Aristotelian scheme can be recognized and superimposed to it again :

Musica theoretica.

(a) Materia — Chap. I and II (Notes and intervals).

(b) Forma — Chap. III (Systems).

Musica practica.

(a) Materia — Chap. IV (Instruments).

(b) Forma — Chap. V (Direction of melody and rhythm).

This arrangement does not agree with those of other Arabian scholars, it is rather in contradiction to it. But it seems to have been the intention of the author when grouping his subject in such a manner.

The countless conformities in detail of Abu'l-Ṣalt to his master Al-Fārābī cannot be enumerated here. They are especially conspicuous in definitions like that of the science of music, and its theoretical and practical part. Regarding some formulations, one is sometimes also reminded of Al-Fārābī's « Ihsa al-'ulūm » (15). It can generally be said that the author clung to his principle « to omit the unnecessary » more closely than « to bring forward what is insufficiently found elsewhere ». For one will look in vain for a new and independent idea. But he succeeded in creating a manual of sciences which afforded to the thirsty for knowledge the demanded provision — « haspaqah ».

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A CHRONOLOGY OF THE BALLADES, RONDEAUX AND VIRELAIS SET TO MUSIC BY GUILLAUME DE MACHAUT

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The Machaut manuscripts :

Vg	French Ms formerly in the possession of the Marquis de Vogüe. Whereabouts now unknown.	
A	Paris, Bibl. nat. fonds français	1584
B	» » » » »	1585
C	» » » » »	1586
E	» » » » »	9221
FG	» » » » »	22545-6
M	» » » » »	843

The arabic numeration of the Ballades, Rondeaux and Virelais is that of Ludwig's edition of Machaut's musical works.

It is evident that lyric poems, especially during a period like the fourteenth century when allegory was rampant and the activities of daily life were most sparingly admitted into the rarefied atmosphere of the courtly love song, cannot give much indication when they were written down. Particularly with Machaut is this the case, and moreover the metrical structure varies little from his early poems to his latest (cf. the Ballade from the « Remède de Fortune » with, for example, « Plourés dames »). Neither will the musical notation give any assistance in this matter.

It is most tantalising to consider whether the works of Machaut are drawn up in chronological order, in the great manuscripts at least. As far as the longer narrative poems are concerned, Hoepffner has established in compelling manner that they are in general to be found in chronological order there [1]. Leaving out of the question the beautifully written and decorated but textually and musically very erroneous manuscript **E**, it will be found that **Vg**, **A**, **F-G** and **M** have very much the same order, even concerning the individual works of each form of composition [2].

If, without more ado, we accept Hoepffner's opinion that the

[1] E. Hoepffner, *Oeuvres de Machaut*, Introduction to each volume.
[2] See Friedrich Ludwig, *Guillaume de Machaut, Musikalische Werke*, II, 48-52.

« Remède de Fortune » contains Machaut's earliest Ballades, Rondeau and Virelai [3], the period of his activity in this field may be considered as extending from c. 1340 to c. 1370, approximately thirty years. The first date is based on Hoepffner's date for the composition of the « Remède de Fortune » namely before 1342. The reasons for the second date are as follows.

The most complete manuscript of Machaut's works is **F-G**. Thus it is no doubt later than **Vg** and **A**, both of which, like **F-G**, belong to the fourteenth century. (This statement is, of course, not necessarily true, since the works found in **F-G**, but not in **Vg**, **A** and **M**, may simply not have been written down in the three presumably earlier manuscripts). The order in which individual works are written down is essentially the same in all three manuscripts. The date of the « Voir Dit », a long poem which contains several Ballades and Rondeaux accompanied by music, together with some Virelais included in the music fascicles but not notated, is c. 1365. If, as seems likely, the Ballades, Rondeaux and Virelais in the big manuscripts are drawn up in chronological order, Machaut only wrote four Ballades, four Rondeaux and three (or two) Virelais after the songs in the « Voir Dit ». These additional songs are found in **F-G**, and with the exception of two Ballades and one Rondeau also in **A**. The fact that **Vg** includes the « Voir Dit » songs, but none of the later songs except one perhaps, is significant. Could this be the manuscript of which Machaut himself says, « Je vous eusse porte mon livre ou toutes les chose(s) sont que je fis onques : mais il est en plus de vingt pieces ; car je l'ay fait faire pour aucun de mes seigneurs ; si que je le fais noter, et pour ce il convient que il soit par pieces » [4]. A clue with regard to this hypothesis is the device « J'ay belle dame assouvie », written in a fifteenth century hand on the recto of the manuscript's second flyleaf [5]. This is almost the motto of the Comte de Foix, Jean de Grailli (d. 1436), whose fourteenth century ancestor Gaston Phébus was one of the most musically minded nobles of his day, and to whom the manuscript may well have belonged originally. Although Hoepffner is of the opinion that a lost master copy is the basis of the big Machaut manuscripts, under the circumstances it is more likely that Guillaume himself supervised the compilation of **Vg**, of which **A** is probably a later copy and **F-G** a still later one.

Further support for this hypothesis is provided by the inclusion or non-inclusion of the Prologue, « Voir Dit », « Prise d'Alexandrie » and the later small Dits in **A**, **F-G**, **M** and **Vg**. M is apparently a

[3] E. Hoepffner, *Oeuvres de Machaut*, II, xxxvii.
[4] G. de Machaut, *Le Voir Dit* (ed. P. Paris), Letter 10, p. 69.
[5] F. Ludwig in *Oeuvres de Machaut* (ed. Hoepffner), II, 408.

fifteenth century copy of Vg without musical notation, for the Ballades and Virelais have exactly the same order in both manuscripts, and the Rondeaux only vary very slightly. In spite of its later date **M**, like **Vg**, lacks the Prologue, the « Voir Dit » and the later small Dits, though, again like **Vg**, it possesses the poems from the « Voir Dit ». Most significant is the inclusion of the « Prise d'Alexandrie » at the end of the Ms **Vg**, instead of in its usual place at the end of the Dits, as in **F-G** and **A**. This poem would thus appear to have been added after the completion of the rest of the Codex, and as the « Prise » can be dated « not before 1369 » the body of the manuscript must have been written before that, but not before 1365, the date of the « Voir Dit ».

A on the other hand includes the Prologue, but this poem is not provided for in the original foliation as it is in **F-G**, which must thus be a later manuscript than **A**. The latter includes the « Prise » among the Dits, thus providing evidence that the manuscript was written after 1369. Also in **A** are the two small Dits : « Dit de la rose » and « Les biens que ma dame me fait pour amender moy m'onneur et mon fait ». The old index includes the « Prise » but neither the Prologue nor « Les biens ». It also, incidentally, omits the Hoquetus.

F-G was no doubt written a short time after **A**, for it includes a further Dit : « Dit de la fleur de lis et de la marguerite ».

As observed earlier, the fifteenth century manuscript **M** seems to have been originally a copy of **Vg**. Later additional Ballades, Rondeaux and Virelais were apparently copied from **A**, and enough space was left for the remaining two Ballades, one Rondeau and one Virelai, which are in **F-G**. Indeed, the words « balade », « rondel » and « chancon baladée » are already written in the manuscript.

The songs found in **M**, **A** and **F-G** but not in **Vg** all bear signs of their more recent composition. The final Ballade « Ma chière dame » lacks the melismas and the hocketing passages of the earlier songs in this form, and in metrical structure it is unique, for it uses the metre and rhyme of the « Remède » ' complainte ' (though decasyllables replace octosyllables) and the three strophes consist of sixteen lines apiece. The final Virelai « De tout sui si confortée » has a melodic flow and diatonic movement which contrasts sharply with the modal rhythm and scale of, for instance, « Hé dame de vaillance ». Significantly both « De tout sui » and its predecessor « Moult sui de bonne » are in duple time and prolation.

The list of ' modernities ' could easily be extended but, without going further into the matter here, it may be said that we now have a series of Ballades, Rondeaux and Virelais which can be dated between 1365 and 1370, with perhaps one exception, the Rondeau

« Sans cuer, dolens », which is number 4 of the Rondeaux with music and no doubt older than the « Voir Dit » [6]. It would be less easy and perhaps futile to attempt to range the other lyric poems accompanied by music in chronological order. But at any rate the clues given here with respect to the later compositions show that these are arranged approximately in chronological order in the great manuscripts, and so a similar order is quite possible in the case of the other songs [7]. It may also be mentioned that the three Ballades and three Rondeaux in the « Voir Dit », i. e. the songs provided with music, are arranged in the music fascicle in the same order as in the narrative poem, with the exception of course of « Sans cuer, dolens ». This shows that they were probably composed in the order in which they are written in the presumably autobiographical Dit.

Taking the Codex **Vg** as the Basis, deviations in the order of individual Ballades, Rondeaux, and Virelais in **A** and **F-G** are as follows. The three-voice canon at the unison, Ballade 17 in Vg, takes an earlier place in **A** and **F-G**, viz. it becomes Ballade 9. This is significant, seeing that the ' chace ', also a canon at the unison, was a form favoured by composers of the early fourteenth century. Thus Machaut's three-voice canon may well be one of his earlier compositions, though it differs from the ' chaces ' by having a different text in each voice and by its subject, which is as usual concerned with the poet's sorrow at leaving his beloved.

In **A** the Ballade « Se quanque amours », number 21 in **Vg**, **M** and **F-G**, takes up a very late position, namely number 38 of the Ballades with music. This can probably be explained by the scribe's forgetfulness. He probably missed it out at first, and then added it later at the end.

Apart from this exception the Ballades are in the same order in **F-G** as in **A**, leaving out of count minor displacements (for example, Ballades 34, 35 and 36 in **A** have the order 35, 36 and 34 in **F-G**).

The Rondeau « Dix et sept » comes immediately after « Dame se vous n'avez » in **M**. This change of position is easily explainable. Both poems belong to the « Voir Dit ». Otherwise **Vg** and **M** are alike except for minor displacements.

In **A** the four-voice Rondeau « Tant doucement » takes first place among the Rondeaux, but this is explained by the fact that there are two versions of the Rondeau in this Ms, of which one is for only two voices. The second Rondeau in **A** is « Dix et sept », surprisingly enough. **F-G** does not follow the irregular and doubtless

[6] *Guillaume de Machaut, Musikalische Werke*, II, 53 b.

[7] Ballade 37 is doubtless not in chronological order. Its rhythm, its lack of tenor and contra, and the position of the poem without music in the " Louange " collection, all suggest an early date.

unchronological order of certain of the Rondeaux in **A**, and « Dix et sept » is placed with « Dame se vous n'avez » as in **M**.

The Virelais vary little in order among the great manuscripts. Apart from a minor displacement in **A**, there is only one work which changes its position in **A** and **F-G** compared with **Vg** and **M**. This is « Se je souspir » which, though no doubt a late work, is perhaps a little out of order at the very end of **Vg** and **M**. At any rate it is placed before the three « Voir Dit » Virelais « Je ne me puis », « L'ueil qui est » and « Plus belle que le... » in **A** and **F-G**.

Hoepffner has discovered that certain lines from the lyric poems of Machaut have been used in the latter's longer poems « Le Confort d'ami » and « La Fontaine amoureuse » [8]. This discovery leads him to the idea that the lyric poems form a kind of commentary on Machaut's longer poems. In spite of the fact that Hoepffner has traced lines from thirteen of Machaut's Ballades, Rondeaux, Virelais and motets in « La Fontaine amoureuse » he has failed to consider one thing, namely the highly conventional nature of the poetic phrases which Machaut uses. Even the more striking expressions and images may recur among the works of a medieval writer like Machaut. Just as in the music the same rhythmical formula may be found in very many of Machaut's works, so in the poetry the same expression may be used over and over again.

Moreover, Hoepffner believes that the quotation of lines from the lyric poems in Machaut's longer works may help to date the former [9]. If this were so it would indicate that the lyric poems were written before the Dits in which certain of their lines are quoted. But Hoepffner does not stop to consider that lines from the Dits may just as well have been used as a basis for writing new lyrics, in which case one is as much in the dark as ever. Again, some of Hoepffner's statements seem to conflict with what has been said earlier in this chapter. He finds that line 1013 of « La Fontaine amoureuse » is also used in the last of Machaut's Virelais, and says, « elle (the 'chanson balladée') a certainement été composée en même temps que les rondeaux en musique IV et suivants » [10]. But, as has been observed, the Rondeau number 4 seems to be a very much earlier work than the technically more modern « De tout sui si confortée ».

Mention must now be made of the Ms **C**, of great importance here because it contains perhaps the earliest, reasonably complete collection of Machaut's works. The importance of this fact, however, is greatly lessened by the late date of the Ms. It was copied on

[8] E. Hoepffner, *Oeuvres de Machaut*, III, 255.
[9] E. Hoepffner, *Oeuvres de Machaut*, III, 255.
[10] *Idem*, III, 257.

paper in the fifteenth century. Nevertheless, although care is needed in drawing conclusions from the often haphazard arrangement of works in this MS, its importance cannot be denied, and on the whole it supports the statements made earlier in this chapter. It contains only 24 Ballades, 9 Rondeaux and 28 Virelais. All the Virelais are monodic, even the one representative of the Virelais, which are polyphonic elsewhere. Even though there are only nine Rondeaux, « Sans cuer, dolens » is to be found, thus confirming the impression gained earlier that it was not newly composed for the « Voir Dit ». The most important feature of this MS is that, in its first section, which differs from the second in being arranged in an orderly manner, the single forms have very nearly the order which they will take up in the biggest Mss, namely **Vg**, **A** and **F-G** [11].

However, it must be stated here that the chronological question is by no means settled as far as Machaut's lyric poems are concerned. No doubt only the music can be dated with any degree of accuracy, but even this cannot be achieved until the study of the Ars Nova period has been completed in greater detail.

Sheffield (England)

[11] F. Ludwig, in *Guillaume de Machaut, Musikalische Werke*, II, * 10.

THE MANUSCRIPT BOLOGNA BIBLIOTECA UNIVERSITARIA 2216

HEINRICH BESSELER (*Jena*)

There are at Bologna two well-known manuscripts of the Dufay-Dunstable period: Ms Q 15 (olim 37) of the Liceo Musicale (now Conservatorio di Musica G. B. Martini), usually referred to as **BL**, and Ms 2216 of the Biblioteca Universitaria, known as **BU**. Franz Xaver Haberl referred to both sources in his study on Dufay (1885) and made a general survey of the contents [1]. J. Wolf in 1904 attempted in his *Geschichte der Mensural-Notation* a complete catalogue of manuscripts up to the middle of the 15th century. The permission he obtained for the purpose was for the **BU**; the comprehensive and important **BL** was so jealously guarded that Wolf had to limit himself to a short survey which provided nothing new [2].

In 1925 for the first time the author of this article was able to establish, by comparing relevant material, that **BL** holds the first rank in importance amongst the sources of the Dufay period [3]. For technical reasons it was then impossible to provide a complete inventory, which appeared for the first time in 1948 as a contribution to the present periodical, but unfortunately without any inquiry [4]. So a thorough study of these two great manuscripts of Bologna is still missing. Since also the summary produced by Wolf requires in many respects rectification and completion, it has been considered advisable to provide a new inventory of **BU**, above all with concordances. This will be found at the end of the present article. All citations by number refer to the numbers in column 1 of the inventory. Such citations from **BL** refer to the numbers in column 2 of de Van's inventory [5].

[1] Wilhelm du Fay, *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 1, 1885, 475-482. Offprint as Vol. 1 of *Bausteine für Musikgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1885.

[2] *Geschichte der Mensural-Notation von 1250-1460*, Vol. 2, Leipzig, 1904, 197-198 (*BL*) and 198-210 (*BU*).

[3] « Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters, I. Neue Quellen des 14. und beginnenden 15. Jahrhunderts », *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 7, 1925, 234-236.

[4] « Inventory of Manuscript Bologna, Liceo musicale, Q 15 (olim 37) », *Musica Disciplina* II, 1948, 231-257.

[5] Owing to an oversight, in the **BL** inventory columns 1 and 2 were given the same heading. « Number as in codex » refers however only to column 1. On the other hand, column 2 contains the list of items prepared by the author. The **BL** works are quoted here only according to the new numbering 1-328.

BU, a paper manuscript in folio, 40 × 29 cm. in size, with a white binding backed in parchment, comes from Brescia in Lombardy as is shown by a note in the table of contents drawn up in the 18th century by P. Giovanni Battista Martini (1706-1784). These four paper leaves are to be found today between a fly-leaf and the main text, and their text begins as follows:

« In un Ms. cartaceo Bressiano appresso il P[adre] Rev[erendissi]mo Trombelli, Gen[erale] de[i] Canon[ici] Regulari di S[an] Salvatore si contengono le seguenti compos[izio]ni... ».

In the 18th century, therefore, **BU** belonged to Fr. Trombelli, General of the Regular Canons of the of convent of San Salvatore at Bologna. On the inside of the front cover there is marked: *727 Ex Bibl. S. Salvatoris.* On the fly-leaf following are old reference signs: *Ant III - B - 11* (this in red), then *III Appendix Mss.* 1513. Probably these signs come from the time when the manuscript was kept in Brescia.

It is not known whether the manuscript was written at Brescia, but this can be considered as probable. Should the assumption be correct **BU** would in that case have been written in a town at the fringe of the Alps in northern Lombardy. The Italian texts are correct, but also the French and Latin ones [6]. It should be noted that the copyist of the rondeaux Nos. 14, 78, 84, 87 and 89 has in each case placed the words of verse 5-6 immediately after verse 1-2. This is not usually found in actual French sources, where the so-called *residuum* follows only at the end of the voice or at the close of the entire composition. On the other hand such double lines of text under the music are characteristic of the way in which an Italian ballata was written down. So the scribe was undoubtedly an Italian who moreover apportioned the first place to his mother tongue in the order of texts pertaining to the section of secular music. At the outset are placed the Italian ballate Nos. 69-75, after which come the French texts Nos. 76-78 and 84-90. Since in North Italy the knowledge of French was even at that time still wide-spread, there can be no valid argument against the assumption that **BU** was compiled for a convent or a church at Brescia.

Undoubtedly the manuscript was used for church services. This is proved by the folio format of 40 × 29 cm., and especially by the fact that the five Gregorian pieces, Nos. 1, 79, 80, 81 and 83, were entered in Gregorian notation. **BU** shows traces of hard use. The pages at the bottom are so worn by handling that from beginning to end the lower outside corners are missing together with part of the page edges — obviously the result of frequent turning over.

[6] Edition of the French and Italian texts by G. Lisio, *Una stanza del Petrarca musicata dal Dufay*, Bologna 1893.

Other sources, such as the Trent manuscripts, contain a stock of compositions which were not always put to immediate use, whereas **BU** was a manuscript for daily use. It is significant that this collection of works was intended for the chapel and that it was compiled in the appropriate order of succession.

The manuscript contains 92 pieces. Wolf's numbering, 1 to 99, is not applicable since he has on several occasions numbered separately the second part of a composition. Of the 92 pieces five are Gregorian plain songs, namely Nos. 1, 81 and 83 in full black notation and Nos. 79 and 80 in hollow Gregorian notation. Two polyphonic pieces were subsequently included in the manuscript in black notation, the writing being somewhat different from the rest (Nos. 82 and 92). The same applies to two additions in hollow notes, which are obviously more recent (Nos. 22 and 68). These four additional pieces are marked by the letter N in addition to the reference **BU**. The additions to this manuscript therefore are inconsiderable, whereas in **BL** they constitute a third of the total contents.

The remaining 83 polyphonic pieces, all in black notation, complete the body of **BU**; they are Nos. 2-22, 24-67, 69-78 and 84-91. They must have been written down by one person, although the writing varies both in form and in size. To this principal hand must be attributed also the writing of the short Gregorian mass, No. 1, consisting of the Marian Introit, *Gaudeamus omnes in Domino*, Kyrie, Sanctus and Agnus dei. The Gregorian mass therefore belongs also to the body of the manuscript and opens the whole with a large red initial on page 1.

Now, is the contents arranged according to a definite plan, or did the compiler include the compositions just as he had them at his disposal? A first investigation leaves the impression that the compositions follow one another without any rule. French chansons (Nos. 14, 17) are found between parts of the mass at the beginning, and later on also Latin compositions (Nos. 28, 30 and 32). The motets follow in great number, but again mixed between mass parts (Nos. 49, 62, 65) or Italian compositions (Nos. 52, 60, 67).

Apparently there was some intention to divide these groups on general lines, but it was not consistently carried out. The value of the manuscript can only be estimated when it has been established whether the scribe arranged his contents according to certain criteria and what method of sequence seemed to him right. An inquiry of this kind should not only be based on the present arrangement of the manuscript, but should also take into account the original plan.

The original plan of **BU** can be recognized by examining the setting together and sequence of the fascicles.

There are 57 leaves and bear an old pagination (1-114), probably of the 18th century. In examining the structure of the manuscript

it is more expedient, however, to adopt a numbering per folio from 1 to 57, which was also followed by Wolf in his survey of 1904. In the inventory both numberings are given in columns 2 and 3 for comparison.

The manuscript consists of regular units of four double leaves up to 56. The first leaf of the last unit, f. 49, got detached and has been stuck on to f. 48. The present folio at the end, f. 57, is a single leaf and was attached subsequently. It is not possible to tell whether or not it belongs to an additional unit of folios (f. 57-64). The extant part of the manuscript, however, shows a regular structure of such units and this structure was used by the compiler for his grouping of the contents. This is disclosed by the four large red initials which divide the whole in four parts. They are to be found on f. 1, f. 16′, f. 32′ and f. 49, namely at regular intervals of every two units.

The red initial on f. 1 is placed at the beginning of the aforementioned Gregorian mass, No. 1, which is to be considered as part of the corpus. This was therefore the opening of Part I of the manuscript and to it belonged without any doubt the principal compositions of the folios immediately following, f. 1′-4 : No. 2 Kyrie, No. 3 Gloria and No. 4 Gloria. The next red initial is found on f. 16′ at the head of the Credo for three voices, No. 26, by Dufay. Here began Part II which undoubtedly contained the main pieces of the following five folios (f. 17′-23) : No. 27 Credo, No. 29 Credo, No. 31 Sanctus and No. 33 Agnus dei. Since the next red initial is at f. 32′, it is evident from this arrangement of the scribe's plan that about half of the manuscript was reserved for parts of the masses. They were not put together by him in accordance with the liturgical order of the mass, but according to more ancient methods. Part I was evidently intended for Kyries and Glorias, Part II for Credos, Sanctus and Agnus dei.

Original Plan of **BU**

Init.		*Init.*		*Init.*		*Init.*	
f. 1-8	9-16	17-24	25-32	33-40	41-48	49-56	57-
Kyrie-Gloria		Credo-Sanctus-Agnus		Motets		Secular works	

The second half of the manuscript, therefore, was planned to include other music, namely motets in Part III and secular music in Part IV. However, for the motet part two quarter units were reserved, an amount which was not quite enough. Here, at the

outset, came No. 46, *Alma redemptoris mater* by Dufay, as disclosed by the red initial on f. 32′. The oldest compositions of the motet part which follows this opening are on f. 33′-35, viz. No. 48, *Tota pulchra es* and No. 50, *O pulcerima*, both by Arnold de Lantins.

Part IV began with the anonymous Italian ballata, No. 69, *En bianca vesta*, which is marked with a red initial. As the preceding page was left blank, the closing group of compositions remain clearly distinct from the rest. The oldest pieces belonging to this part are the Italian ballate on the first page and on the two following folios (f. 49-51), viz. No. 70, *Fugir non posso*, No. 71, *Deduto sey*, No. 72, *O bella rosa*, and No. 73, *Merce o morte*. One would have thought that Part IV as originally planned was to have been shorter instead of comprising two whole quarter units, but it is more probable that **BU** used to consist of 64 leaves, the remaining part of the unit which was unused (f. 57-64) being later removed.

The original plan of the manuscript can therefore be recognized with some certainty. In order to utilize the space, available compositions were inserted in all sorts of places. Whenever a composition is found limited to the lower part of the folio, filling therefore the lower staves, it was obviously written in after the main piece above, on the relevant page or double pages. Additional works of this kind are therefore easily recognizable. The opening words of their text are indented in column 4 of the inventory. Such added works are to be found everywhere in the manuscript and frequently without any relation to the original plan. A scrutiny of the scheme shows that the following belong to this group: Part I, Nos. 5, 12, 14, 15, 17, 21, 25; Part II, Nos. 28, 30, 32, 34, 37, 39; Part III, Nos. 43, 47, 49, 51, 58, 67 and Part IV, No. 74.

In other instances the main piece written in first did not take up two pages but only the left page, leaving the page to the right blank. It was therefore possible to insert there a composition at a later date. Additional works of this kind are today not recognizable with certainty; however they can be detected on the whole from a slight change in the writing and a certain difference in the initials. This subsequent utilization of the right hand pages contributed towards upsetting the original plan. It is probable that the following compositions belong to this group: Part I, No. 9; Part II, No. 45; Part III, Nos. 60, 62 and 65.

Finally, use of a double page at the end of the several parts for other compositions confuses demarcation and merges one part into another. Therefore the impression one is liable to get today is that such compositions belonged to the main section of the relevant part, whereas in actual fact they were added to the manuscript at a later stage as a sort of supplement. Similarly both Credos Nos. 18 and 19 and Sanctus No. 24 are placed at the end of

Part I, but evidently there was no longer any folio available there. Conversely, Part II contains a Gloria which is inconsistent with the plan, but together with a Credo forms the Gloria-Credo pair, Nos. 35-36. Likewise motets Nos. 40, 41, 42 and 44 follow towards the end, although they do not belong to this part, but to Part III. As such pieces usually require two pages the present Part III begins straight away with No. 40 *Suppremum est*, whereas previously it began with No. 46 *Alma redemptoris mater*.

As the result of all these vicissitudes and finally by the insertion of the supplements Nos. 23 and 68 in white notation, the original plan of **BU** got so overlaid that it remained until now unrecognized. The general appearance of the manuscript today is a complicated one. But there is a plausible explanation for the irregularities which leaves no doubt as to the planned lay-out. We have already established the fact that **BU** was a manuscript for everyday use, compiled for a convent or a church in North Italy, probably at Brescia. It has now become apparent that there is a basic plan, an arrangement thoroughly thought out and quantitatively calculated. This manuscript constitutes therefore one of the principle sources of the period and holds essentially the same rank as its extensive contemporary neighbour, the **BL** manuscript.

Now to what conclusions does scrutiny of the contents lead? The question of date and origin arises here. Where and when was the manuscript written? Connection with Brescia was known of in the 18th century. The fact that **BU** was written there is borne out by the piece No. 60 in the motet section, *Viva san Marcho glorioso*. The cantus of this Italian ballata for three voices has been cut off with the upper stave of f. 41; but in the tenor voice is still found the text of the *ripresa* and both *piedi*:

Viva, viva San Marcho glorioso
col populo bresano
Magnanimo et soprano;
viva, viva sempre victorioso.

E tu Bresa bella triumphante,
lauda dio de tanta (?) victorioso;
po' che forte stata sey e constante,
coronata seray con gran glorioso.

The ballata celebrates a victory of the city of Brescia and was intended for some festivity in the town, which is to be inferred from verse 5. The introductory *ripresa* (verses 1-4) refers, however, to St. Mark, the patron and protector of Venice, which definitely implies that it belongs to the epoch of Venetian rule. Brescia was conquered by the republic of St. Mark in 1426 and after the peace of Ferrara

in 1428 remained in its possession[7]. The ballata, No. 60, was therefore written for Brescia after 1428.

To this Italian document is joined the Latin motet by Hugo de Lantins, No. 42, *Cristus vincit.* The text honours Francesco Foscari, who became Doge of Venice in 1423 and ruled until 1457. The words are the same for all three voices :

Cristus vincit, Cristus regnat,
Cristus imperat.
Domino nostro Francischo Foscari,
dei gratia inclito duci Venecie,
Dalmacie atque Croacie
et dominatori quarte partis et dimidie
tocius imperii romane
salus, honor, vita et victoria. Amen.

It is not known whether the motet was composed for Venice or for some other place. In Brescia, however, it was introduced not before 1426. A third political piece is the double motet for three voices in Latin, No. 56, *Ducalis sedes — Stirps,* which in **BL** is for four voices and is ascribed to Antonius Romanus. It honours the preceding doge, Tommaso Mocenigo (1414-1423) and has therefore no connection yet with Brescia. Here the compiler of **BU** left out at the beginning the surname *Stirps* (*Mocenica*), probably because that doge had died in the meantime This motet, No. 56, confirms therefore the fact that **BU** was written after 1423.

The latest datable work is No. 40, *Suppremum* [*est*], Dufay's well known composition celebrating the peace of Viterbo in 1433. In **BL** this motet belongs to those that were added. Evidently also the compiler of **BU** did not from the start have it at hand since he did not include it in the actual Part III, but wrote it on the preceding pages which were later taken together with Part III. Unfortunately we have no certain clue to the time when this happened. The general impression we get of **BU** and the deviations from the original plan as established above lead us to the conclusion that the actual writing of the manuscript took some time. On the other hand the whole, in spite of its various features, originated from a single scribe. He included, No. 40, a motet, before the additions (Nos. 23, 68, 82 and 92) were inserted. The conclusion is thus reached that **BU** was written at Brescia in the years following 1433, but we cannot tell whether its compilation went up to 1440 or lasted even longer.

What composers at Brescia contributed to the manuscript? « Matheus de Brixia » is known from other sources ; he is represented

[7] H. Kretschmayr, *Geschichte von Venedig,* Vol. 2, Gotha, 1920, 337 f.

in **BL** by the motet *Ihesus postquam monstraverat*, and above all the « Provost of Brescia » is known through the Oxford collection, Bodl. Can. misc. 213 (**O**). There are four Italian ballate there, marked : *Prepositi brisiensis* [8]. Obviously the French virelai, **BU** 76, *Degardes vous* originates from the same composer. It is striking that the Brescia manuscript contains only this single piece of the composer, which is likewise marked *Prepo[s]iti Brixi[e]n[si]s*, the four ballate of **O** not having been included, a fact which does not bespeak in favour of participation by the « provost » in the writing of the manuscript. Did he live in another monastery, or was he already dead ? It is to be hoped that future research at Brescia will be able to answer such questions.

The composers whose works appear in **BU** are known from other manuscripts except « Afat », the author of the Sanctus, No. 24, and « Do. Vala » whose name is mentioned only here five times (Nos. 16, 45, 78, 85 and 90). Perhaps Do[minicus ?] Vala belonged to or was closely connected with the Brescian circle of musicians. It is also possible, however, that the driving force throughout the manuscript was not an Italian but a Netherlander, since the number of 12 French compositions is striking as well as the correctness of their texts. In this respect attention is drawn to **BL** which also comes from North Italy but is probably closely connected with the Netherlander Johannes de Limburgia who lived there [9].

In order that such questions may be clarified it is necessary to cast a glance at other manuscripts and make comparisons. Considered as a whole, including the additions in hollow notes, **BU**, with its 87 polyphonic compositions, falls amongst sources of medium bulk. The composers mentioned are : Afat, Frater Antonius de Civitat[e], Arnaldus or Arnoldus de La[n]tinis, Binchoys, Jo[hannes] Cichonia, G. Dufay, Dunstable, B[eltrame] Feragut, Grossim, Ugo de La[n]tinis, Leonel, Nicolaus de Capoa, Prepositus Brixiensis, Rezon and Do[minicus ?] Vala. By comparing with other sources the following can be traced : de Anglia, Antonius Romanus, Dufay, Dunstable, Grenon, Grossin, Arnold de Lantins, C. de Merques, Reson, Oswald von Wolkenstein and « Micinella », probably the title of a liturgical piece by Zacharias. Table 1 provides a comprehensive list of the composers.

There are three cases in which other manuscripts contradict the evidence of **BU**. No. 13 by Nicholas de Capoa appears in the manuscript of St. Emmeram, Munich mus. 3232a (**Em**), under the name

[8] W. Korte, *Studie zur Geschichte der Musik in Italien im ersten Viertel des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Kassel, 1933, 12 and 69 f.

[9] H. Besseler, Article « Bologna, Kodex BL », in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. by F. Blume, Vol. 2, Kassel, 1951, 95-99.

TABLE I.

Composers of **BU**

Name	Number of works	Number in **BU**
Afat	1	24
de Anglia	1	61
Frater Antonius de Civitate	1	11
Antonius Romanus	1	56
Binchois	3	17, 23, 68
Ciconia	1	53
Dufay	11	7, 21, 26, 38, 40, 46, 52, 62, 75, 77, 84
Dunstable	2	20 (Leonel ?), 65
Feragut	3	19, 41, 65
Grenon	1	88
Grossin	2	22, 66
Lantins, Arnold de	7	2, 3, 27, 35, 36, 48, 50
Lantins, Hugo de	1	42
Leonel	1	64
Merques, C. de	1	87
Micinella [= Zacharias ?]	1	6
Nicolaus de Capoa	1	13 (Bosquet ?)
Prepositus Brixiensis	1	76
Reson	2	8, 59
Vala, Do[minicus ?]	5	16, 45, 78, 85, 90
Wolkenstein, Oswald von	1	57
Zacharias (?)	1	6

of Bosquet ; No. 20 by Dunstable, in Trent 87 (**Tr** 87) under Leonel ; No. 68 by Binchoys, in Modena, Lat. 471 (**ModB**) under the name Dufay-Binchois. As regards No. 68, **BU** is certainly right, since the scribe of **ModB** in writing down the same piece wrote « Binchois » in the text that follows, wanting thereby to rectify the mistake « Dufay » made in the heading. The other two cases must remain for the time being unsettled. In general **BU** follows the main line of tradition, whereas for instance the Aosta manuscript deviates from it frequently, namely where English compositions are concerned[10].

[10] G. de Van, « A Recently Discovered Source of Early Fifteenth-Century Polyphonic Music », *Musica Disciplina* II, 1948, 12 f.

But English composers do not play a considerable part in **BU** since they are represented by only four works (Nos. 20, 61, 63 and 64). In this respect the most outstanding are two Netherlanders, viz. Dufay with eleven compositions and Arnold de Lantins with seven. **BU** therefore is one of the principle sources of the Dufay period.

TABLE 2.

Concordances with **BU**

Source [1]	Number of Concordances	Number in **BU**
Ao	6	7 (twice), 20, 22, 26 (twice), 38, 63
BL	26	2, 3, 6, 7, 13, 19, 21, 22, 26, 27, 32, 35, 36, 38, 40, 46, 50, 52, 53, 56, 59, 61, 62, 63, 66, 92
Ca 6	1	38
Ca 11	1	38
Em	8	13 (Bosquet), 21, 23, 40, 48, 62, 63, 66
Esc	1	17
FM_1	1	68
Luc	1	70
ModB	5	21, 40, 63, 64, 68
MüL	1	27
O	13	2, 3, 17, 27, 41, 48, 50, 52, 66, 75, 77, 84, 88
Pemb	1	63
PC	1 (+ 3)	(48 Tenor), (66 Tenor), (70 Tenor), 84
PR	1	77
Pz	4	71, 73, 88, 89
Str	1	48
Tr 87	4	17 (Grossin), 22, 87, 92
Tr 92	6	20 (Leonel), 40, 61, 62, 63, 66
Tr 90	2	20, 23
Tr 93	2	20, 23
Ven	3	7, 26, 57
Wolk	1	57

[1] For *sigla* of the manuscripts see below, p. 55.

With regard to the number of concordances, **BL** ranks first amongst all relevant manuscripts, since it has 26 pieces which are the same, namely a third of the entire **BU** manuscript. As **BL** comes from North Italy and is approximately contemporaneous with **BU**,

or, if anything, was written a few years previously, this close relationship is only to be expected. Second in this respect, with 13 concordances, follows the contemporaneous compilation **O** of North Italy. As its contents consists mainly of songs, it has not so many points of contact with **BU** as **BL** which consists chiefly of masses and motets. On the other hand the later motet manuscript **ModB**, compiled after 1440, has only five concordances, one of which relates to No. 68, an addition in hollow notes. Table 2 provides data on the points in common with other manuscripts which have so far been traced.

A mere look at the concordances enables us roughly to place **BU**. It belongs with **BL** and **O** to the older group of the North Italian Dufay manuscripts. Although of these three manuscripts **BU** was the last to be compiled, undoubtedly after 1430, the concordances suggest an earlier period for the actual compositions. It is a striking fact that the contemporaneous sources of the North, **Ca** 6, **Ca** 11 and **Esc** are represented each by only one composition, and the Binchois manuscript of Munich, mus. 3192 (**MüM**) not at all. On the other hand three concordances are to be found in the Italian lauda manuscript **Ven** which comprises in its initial part 28 polyphonic pieces. Likewise the Paris manuscript n. a. fr. 4917 (**Pz**) — a French-Italian collection of songs of the 1420s and originating from North Italy — of whose 32 pieces four recur in **BU**. Therefore **BU** is not so much a newer source as one having its roots in the past.

The total of 87 polyphonic compositions consists of three groups : A. Mass parts, B. Motets, C. Secular music. Group A can be easily demarcated, comprising as it does 8 Kyries, 10 Glorias, 7 Credos, 5 Sanctus and 2 Agnus Dei, in all 32 pieces of the Ordinary of the Mass. Part I and II cover mainly the original plan, only Nos. 49, 58, 62 and 65 having been included in Part III. For the checking of each see Table 3 on page 51. Of the thirty-two mass pieces six have tropes : Kyries Nos. 5, 12 and 15, Sanctus No. 31 and 58 and Agnus Dei No. 33. This gives one a rather archaic picture, since after 1430 such single movements with tropes gave way to the Ordinary of the Mass.

The mass cycle as a musical whole was, however, totally foreign to the compiler of **BU**. The original plan provided for separate groups of single pieces, namely Part I for Kyries and Glorias, Part II for Credos, Sanctus and Agnus dei. The mass cycles at hand were not taken into account in our manuscript ; they were broken up and not once used as a unit. Dufay's *Missa sine nomine* in G for three voices, which was included as a unit in **BL** by its compiler, appears in **BU** only with, No. 7, Kyrie, and No. 26, Credo. The somewhat later three-voice mass by Arnold de Lantins, which is again included as a united whole in **BL**, is represented by No. 2,

Kyrie, No. 3, Gloria, and No. 27, Credo [11]. Part II at one point shows at least a Credo, a Sanctus and an Agnus dei which follow each other as Nos. 29, 31 and 33. This is an exception, otherwise a connection of two movements does not occur in **BU**, while the compiler of **BL** endeavours to obtain it in every instance. In **BU** it actually occurs only once in the form of the Credo-Gloria couple, Nos. 35/36. This general disregard of the Ordinary of the Mass is an archaic feature.

Whereas Group A is clearly demarcated, Groups B and C must in this respect be more closely examined. When the compiler included the first compositions, he had in mind for Part III probably Latin motets, for Part IV works with texts in French and Italian. Later on there was added Dufay's *Vergine bella*, a Marian motet with Italian text by Petrarc. It is significant that it was included not in Part IV, but as No. 52 in Part III and as a main composition at the outset of a double page. Likewise the composition for a festivity, *Viva San Marcho*, found its place there, although it is in the form of an Italian ballata.

From the foregoing it can be seen that the order in which the compositions were put was governed neither by their form nor by their language, but by their purpose. If a composition had, as festivity music, the character of a motet, it was considered as belonging to Group B and was included in Part III. If on the other had it had a « social » character, its purpose being recreational, it found its proper place in Part IV. The pieces included here as a comprehensive body, apart from the additions, Nos. 79-83 and 91-92, belong to Group C. They consist of 7 Italian ballate and 10 French cantilena pieces whose character as recreational music is unmistakable. The three additions, Nos. 14, 17 and 39, in Part I and II, are of the same character and belong to Group B ; the recreational music comprises therefore 20 songs.

Group B is made up of the remaining 35 polyphonic compositions. If we are to call these motets, we must then broaden considerably the conception of this type of music. The ballata *Viva San Marcho* is associated with festivity music for special occasions in the sense of Ars Nova such as Nos. 40, 42, 53 or 56 ; the cantilena piece, *Vergine bella*, No. 52, with Marian antiphons, Nos. 44, 46, 51 and 59 and the Italian Lauda, *Con desiderio*, No. 67, with Latin prayers such as Nos. 45, 54 or No. 66. Hymn (No. 21) and Magnificat (Nos. 25 and 68) are part of the liturgy, but like the Marian antiphons had become, already for sometime, a principal form of private piety. To this category belong also Latin songs of a simple character

[11] A discussion of the oldest Mass cycles in H. Besseler, *Bourdon und Fauxbourdon*, Leipzig, 1950, 147-155.

TABLE 3.

Contents of **BU**

Gregorian chants	1, 79, 80, 81, 83
	GROUP A. *Mass parts.*
Kyrie	2 (Trope), 5 (Trope), 7, 8, 12 (Trope), 15 (Trope), 23, 62
Gloria	3, 4, 6, 10, 11, 13, 16, 20, 22, 35
Credo	18, 19, 26, 27, 29, 36, 38
Sanctus	9, 24, 31 (Trope), 58 (Trope), 65
Agnus dei	33 (Trope), 49
	GROUP B. *Motets.*
Isorhythmic Motets	40
Motets	41, 42, 45, 48, 50, 53, 54, 56, 63, 64, 66
Italian pieces	52, 60
Italian Laude	67
Laude-Motets	28, 30, 32, 34, 37, 43, 47, 55, 57, 92
Antiphons	44, 46, 51, 59
Hymns	21
Magnificat	25, 68
Sequences	61
Benedicamus domino	82, 91
	GROUP C. *Recreational music.*
Italian Ballate	39, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75
Rondeaux	14, 17, 78, 84, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90
Virelais	76, 85
Other Chansons	77

which approximate the lauda form and in Column 6 of the inventory are indicated by the letters *La*; they are Nos. 28, 30, 32, 37, 43, 47, 55, 57 and 92. All these particularities impart to group B an unmistakably Italian colour.

Also other features of the manuscript are unmistakably Italian. As already mentioned above, the text of the French rondeaux tends

to be arranged in such a way that two lines of words are found under each stave. This was not customary in the North, but it was so in Italy for the ballata. The scribe was therefore certainly Italian. In examining Column 5 of the inventory one is struck by the frequent recurrence of two or three voices put to words. The cantilena composition with only one singing voice, so popular with the Netherlanders, is very rare in **BU**. Here in the tenor words have often been introduced which do not occur in the neighbor manuscript **BL** or **O**, as for example in No. 48, *Tota pulcra es*, No. 50, *O pulcerima*, or No. 59, *Salve regina*. This results in the mixed composition for three voices with an instrumental contratenor and a duet sung by discant and tenor, that was already favorite in the 14th century with Francesco Landini[12].

Equally remarkable is the great number of two-voice pieces in **BU**, distributed amongst all groups. Of the mass compositions four are for two voices (Nos. 9, 19, 49 and 59), of the motets six (Nos. 30, 43, 44, 64, 67 and 92), of the recreational works as many as eleven (Nos. 14, 39, 69, 70, 72, 73, 74, 76, 77, 87 and 88). This means that of 87 compositions 21 are for two voices, almost a quarter of the total number. In several instances it is apparent from neighbouring manuscripts that the compiler of **BU** left out the contratenor, as in No. 19, Credo, No. 64, motet *Anima mea* and No. 92, *In natali domini*, or as in No. 87, a French rondeau by C. de Merques, and No. 88, a rondeau by Grenon. Such compositions almost entirely disappear at that time from the main tradition, even in the case of French chansons which prior to 1430 are not unfrequently found in the two-voice form. Italy, on the other hand, still clings in the first half of the 15th century to the duet form which was favorite in the 14th century. Its occurrence in **BU** is therefore another Italian feature.

It seems probable, from the various points gone into above, that **BU** came from an Italian musical circle. This is corroborated by the scheme as a whole, when compared with that of **BL**. The original plan of **BU** provided for four divisions or sections, to which correspond Groups A, B and C, each equally important :

Plan of **BU**		
A. Mass parts	B. Motets	C. Recreational music

BL contains 326 pieces of the kinds in **BU** but arranged in a different order. The recreational compositions are not grouped together

[12] F. Ludwig, « Musik des Mittelalters bis zum Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts », in G. Adler's *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, Vol. 1, 2nd edn., Berlin, 1930, 279.

in **BL**, but are spread over the manuscript in the form of additions. Such pieces are therefore never at the beginning of pages, but are inserted below to fill up empty space. On the other hand, after the motets there follows, as a third group, a collection of liturgical works, beginning with hymns and magnificats for vespers, in the order of the liturgical year. So in **BL** the liturgical Group C forms a complement to the group of mass parts (Group A), since both are intended for church service.

Plan of **BL**		
A. Mass parts	B. Motets	C. Liturgical works
Supplements :	Recreational music.	

There is no doubt that in the 1430s the arrangement of **BL** was looked upon as modern and that of **BU** as conservative. The sources of the Ciconia period, about 1400-1430, introduced a varied mixture of church and secular music, as shown by the Modena manuscript lat. 568 (**ModA**). Of the same type are the fragments of three extensive manuscripts at Padua (**PadA**, **PadB**, **PadC**), one in the state archives of Parma (**Parma**) and two in the state archives of Siena (**SieA**, **SieB**). Such manuscripts, because of their quarto format, used everywhere, and because of their mixed sacred and secular content, are referred to as « mixed quarto manuscripts ». This was evidently a characteristic feature of the Ciconia period[13].

The **BL** manuscript, begun in about 1430, separates for the first time the liturgical compositions, together with the motets, from recreational music, which is left in only as an addition. The somewhat later manuscripts, both in folio, Cambrai 6 and Cambrai 11, no longer contain any secular music. This applies in general to the « folio choir book » of the 15th and 16th centuries, since it is exclusively intended for liturgical use. Soon in the North only small sized chansonniers were to be employed for secular music. The earliest one is the Escorial manuscript V.III.24 (**Esc.**) which is contemporaneous with **Ca 6** and **Ca 11**. The ideal of the Ciconian period has been virtually abandoned. In the place of the mixed quarto manuscripts are now to be found only separate collections of church and of secular music. This development has its centre of gravitation in the north, amongst Netherlandish composers of the generation of Dufay and Ockeghem. It can be traced back to 1430.

[13] H. Besseler, Article « Ars nova » in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. by F. Blume, vol. 1, Kassel, 1949-51, 705-706. Besides the mixed quarto manuscripts there are also collections of songs, without sacred music, and thus in small format.

It is now possible to understand the peculiar structure of **BL**, which distinctly deviates from the mixed quarto type of manuscript and also from the contemporaneous mixed collections **O** and **BU**. Johannes de Limburgia, a virtually unknown Flemish composer of the generation of Dufay is represented in **BL** by 46 compositions. In all likelihood he was in some way responsible for the coming into existence of the manuscript. Therefore, **BL**, although written in Italy, is to be considered a source of primary importance also for Flemish music[14].

The case of **BU** is different. The modern folio format, 40 × 29 cm. in size, was readily adopted for choral compositions; but the old arrangement of the mixed quarto manuscript remained unmodified, so that secular music, as in the past, was placed next to church music on an equal basis. This is a conservative feature for the 1430s. It confirms every other detail recognized above as antiquated, viz. the concordances with other older or conservative sources, the mass parts with tropes, the non-observance of the mass cycle. All considered, the manuscript stands somewhat aside from the main stream of history, since in those days the lead was given not by Italians but by musicians of the North. It is to be concluded therefore that **BU** came actually from an Italian musical circle at Brescia.

Remarks Relating to the Inventory

The lay-out of the inventory follows in general the same lines of earlier ones published in Vols. III and IV of the present periodical. Localities are not indicated since the foregoing inquiry has provided explanation on the matter. Observations are made there also on the initials, additions, changes in writing and notation. In column 5 the number of voices are given and also the number of voices with texts. Thus 3^2 signifies a composition for three voices and text for two voices.

The abbreviations hitherto in use have been retained with some exceptions. The Munich manuscript, mus. 3232a, used to be referred to as **MüO**, but since it originally came from the convent of St. Emmeram at Regensburg the present author has in publications of recent years used the abbreviation **Em**, which has seemed more practical since it shows the origin and character of the manuscript. To indicate the newly discovered fragment at Lucca the reference **Mn** was introduced because of its connection with Prof. Mancini. But since

[14] On dating *BL* see H. Besseler, *Bourdon und Fauxbourdon*, Leipzig, 1950, 11-13. A summary is given in the article "Ars Nova" in *MGG*; cf. above, note 9.

in all probability the manuscript originally came from Lucca, it has seemed more expedient to refer to it as **Luc**.

In Column 8 of the inventory after the signature of the manuscript, either the number of folios preceded by the letter *f* is stated or just a number is given without any letters. The number of folios is mentioned only in cases where no comprehensive inventory of a relevant manuscript has been published with consecutive numbering of all items. This applies to manuscripts such as **O** or **Mod B** whose inventories are as yet to be published. But in the use of all other sources only the numbers of the actual pieces are given. This number always relates to the consecutive numbering of the items in a modern inventory; in the case of **BL** it is not the old number but as in the inventory of 1948, column 2. In order to avoid any possible misunderstanding, in all instances of manuscripts which have been numbered in this way throughout, the relevant inventory is mentioned.

MANUSCRIPTS CITED AND THEIR SIGNATURES

Ao Aosta, Bibl. del Seminario, Codex without signature. Inventory by G. de Van, *Musica Disciplina* 2, 1948, 22-37.

BL Bologna, Liceo musicale, Q 15 (olim 37). Inventory by G. de Van, *Musica Disciplina* 2, 1948, 234-257.

Ca 6 Cambrai, Bibl. de la ville, Ms. 6. Inventory by H. Besseler, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 7, 1925, 243 f.

Ca 11 Cambrai, Bibl. de la ville, Ms. 11. Inventory by H. Besseler, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 7, 1925, 243 f.

Em München, Staatsbibliothek, mus. 3232 a. Inventory by K. Dèzes, *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 10, 1927/28, 79-99.

Esc Escorial, Biblioteca, Ms. V.III.24 (insufficient description by P. Aubry, *SIMG* 8, 1906/07, 517-519).

FM_1 Firenze, Bibl. nazionale, Magl. XIX, 112 bis. Inventory by H. Besseler, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 7, 1925, 238-239.

Luc Lucca, Perugia, Pistoia; fragments. Inventory by N. Pirrotta, *Musica Disciplina* 3, 1949, 134-138.

ModB Modena, Bibl. Estense, lat. 471 (A. x. 1, 11).

MüL München, Staatsbibliothek, mus. 3224. Index in H. Besseler, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 7, 1925, 235 f.

O Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici misc. 213 (only alphabetical index in Stainer, *Dufay*, London 1898).

PC Paris, Bibl. Nationale, nouv. acquis. fr. 4379 (Index of Tenores in H. Besseler, *Archiv für Musikwiss.* 7, 1925, 233).

Pemb Cambridge, Pembroke College, Inc. C. 47.

Pz Paris, Bibl. Nationale, nouv. acquis. fr. 4917.

PR Paris, Bibl. Nationale, nouv. acquis. fr. 6771.

Str Strassburg, Stadtbibliothek 222 C. 22. Inventory by Ch. van den Borren, *Le manuscrit musical M. 222 C. 22 de la Bibliothèque de Strasbourg*, Anvers 1924.

Tr Trento, Castello del Buon Consiglio, and : Archiv capitolare del Duomo, MSS. 87-93. Inventory by O. Koller, *DTÖ* VII, 1900, 31-80, and R. Ficker, *DTÖ* 61, 1924, p. VII-X.

Ven Venezia, Bibl. Marciana, ital. IX, 145. Inventory of the first part by H. Besseler, *Archiv für Musikwiss.* 7, 1925, 237.

Wolk Wien, Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 2777. Edition by O. Koller, *DTÖ* IX. 1, 1902 (the numbering here is used).

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Besseler, Heinrich, *Bourdon und Fauxbourdon, Studien zum Ursprung der niederländischen Musik*, Leipzig, 1950.

CAPELLA — *Capella, Meisterwerke mittelalterlicher Musik*, edited by H. Besseler, Heft 1, Kassel, 1950.

DÈZES — *Messen- und Motettensätze des 15. Jahrhunderts*, edited by K. Dèzes, Augsburg, 1927.

DTÖ — *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, Jahrgang VII, 1900 and XI, 1904 (ed. by G. Adler and O. Koller) ; Jahrgang XXXI (Bd. 61), 1924 and XL (Bd. 76), 1933 (ed. by R. von Ficker), Vienna, 1900-1933.

DUFAY — *Guglielmi Dufay Opera omnia*, edited by G. de Van, 1-4 Rome, 1947-49.

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GURLITT — *Gilles Binchois, Sechzehn weltliche Lieder zu 3 Stimmen*, ed. by W. Gurlitt, Wolfenbüttel, 1933.

JEPPESEN — Jeppesen, Knud, « Ein venezianisches Laudenmanuskript », *Theodor Kroyer-Festschrift*, Regensburg, 1933, 69-76.

LISIO — Lisio, Giuseppe, *Una stanza del Petrarca musicata dal Dufay*, Bologna 1893 ; G. Lisio and Fr. X. Haberl, « Una stanza del Petrarca musicata da Guillaume Dufay », *Rivista Musicale Italiana* 1, 1894, 257-266.

MARIX — *Les musiciens de la cour de Bourgogne au XVe siècle*, edited by Marix, Paris 1937.

MMA — Besseler, Heinrich, *Die Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, Potsdam, 1931-34.

PS — *Polyphonia Sacra*, ed. by Ch. van den Borren, Burnham, 1932.

SCHERING — Schering, Arnold, *Musikgeschichte in Beispielen*, Leipzig, 1931.

STAINER — Stainer, John F. R. and Cecie, *Dufay and his contemporaries*, London, 1898.

WGM Wolf, Johannes, *Geschichte der Mensural-Notation von 1250-1460*, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1904.

ABBREVIATIONS

A	Antiphon	M	Mass parts
Ch	Chanson	Mag	Magnificat
Ct	Contratenor	Mo	Motet
H	Hymn	R	Rondeau
iB	Italian Ballata	S	Sequence
isMo	Isorhythmic Motet	T	Tenor
La	Laude, Laude-Motet	V	Virelai

Number	Page	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
			SECTION I. *KYRIE – GLORIA*					
1	1	1	Gaudeamus omnes in domino Kyrie | Sanctus | Agnus dei	1[1]	—	—		Plain chant
2	2-3	1′-2	Kyrie – *Tro.* Verbum incarnatum [1]	3[2]	Ord	Arnaldus (de Lantinis)	**BL** 138; **O** f. 63-63′	Edn. *PS*, 1 + 8[1]
3	4-5	2′-3	Et in terra	3[2]	Ord	(Ar. de Lantinis)	**BL** 139; **O** f. 64-64′	Edn. *PS*, 10 + 15
4	6-7	3′-4	Et in terra	3[2]	Ord	—		
5	7	4	Kyrie – *Tro.* Cunctipotens genitor	3[2]	Ord	—		
6	8	4′	Et in terra	3[1]	Ord	(Z[acar.?] Micinella)	**BL** 17 (4 voc.)	*Apel*, Tenor [2]
7	9	5	Kyrie [3]	3[3]	Ord	G. de fay	**BL** 10 ; **Ven** 2 ; **Ao** 28 ; **Ao** 47	**Ven** *Tro.* Salvator noster. Edn. *Dèzes*, No. 1 ; *Dufay*, fasc. 3 [3]
8	10	5′	Kyrie	3	Ord	Rezon		
9	11	6	Sanctus	2[2]	Ord	—		
10	12-13	6′-7	Et in terra	3[2]	Ord	—		
11	14-15	7′-8	Et in terra	3[2]	Ord	Frater Antonius de Civitat(e)		Edn. *WGM*, 2/3, No. 72
12	15	8	Kyrie – *Tro.* Laudes nostras	3[1]	Ord	—		

[1] The mass cycle by Arnold de Lantins is represented in **BU** only by Nos. 2, 3 and 27. [2] Apel, p. 94, gives the tenor of No. 7 in facsimile, but attributes it to a mass by « Arnaldi ». [3] The compositions No. 7 and 26 in **BU** belong to Dufay's mass (*Missa sine nomine*).

Number	Page	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
13	16-17	8′-9	Et in terra	4^2	Ord	Nicol. de Capoa (**Em** : Bosquet)	**BL** 83 (an.) ; **Em** 69	
14	16	8′	Ames, ames, tous loiaulx amoureus	2^2	R	—		
15	17	9	Kirie – *Tro.* Preces suscipe	3^1	Ord	—		
16	18-19	9′-10	Et in terra	3^2	Ord	do.ua (Vala)		
17	19	10	Leesse m'a mande salut	3^1	R	(Binchois) (**Tr** : Grossin)	**O** f. 79′ ; **Esc** f. 15′-16 (an.); **Tr 87**, 152	Edn. *DTÖ* VII, 255 ; *Gurlitt*, No.7
18	20-21	10′-11	Patrem [4]	3^2	Ord	—		« Canon tenoris »
19	22-23	11′-12	Patrem	2^1	Ord	Feragut	**BL** 42 (3 voc.)	
20	24-25	12′-13	Et in terra	3^1	Ord	Dunstable (**Tr** : Leonel)	**Ao** 195 (an.); **Tr 92**, 1370 ; **Tr 90**, 919 (an.) ; **Tr 93**, 1729 (an.)	
21	25	13	Ave maris stella	3^1 Fb.	H	(Dufay)	**BL** 304 (an.); **Em** 157 (an.) ; **Mod B** f. 4′-5	« a faux bordon ». Edn. *Gerber*, No. 15
22	26-27	13′-14	Et in terra	3^2	Ord	(Grosin)	**BL** 78 ; **Ao** 67 (an.) ; **Tr 87**, 2 (an.)	Edn. *DTÖ* 61, 7
	Supplement (hollow notation)							
23	28-29	14′-15	Kyrie	3^1	Ord	Binchoys	**Em** 271 ; **Tr** 90, 863 ; **Tr 93**, 1679	Edn. *DTÖ* 61, 65; *MMA*, 199 (Kyrie II) ; *Marix*, 154

[4] « *Canon tenoris* » as a longer instruction is written on the left hand side along the edge from below upwards. Over the beginning of discant is written « *[teno]r factorem* » and above it to the left « *tenorista* », evidently as an instruction for the singer to sing it in that voice.

Number	Page	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
			SECTION II. *CREDO – SANCTUS – AGNUS*					
24	30-31	15′-16	Sanctus	3^3	Ord	Afat		
25	31	16	Magnificat	3^2	Mag	—		
26	32-33	16′-17	Patrem	3^1	Ord	G. du fay	**BL** 12 ; **Ao** 35 ; **Ao** 92 ; **Ven** 1 (2 voc.)	*Dufay*, fasc. 3] [illegible]
27	34-37	17′-19	Patrem	3^2	Ord	(Ar. de Lantinis)	**BL** 140 ; **O** f. 65-66; **MüL** 7 (Frag.)	Edn. *PS*, 16 + 28
28	37	19	Verbum caro factum est [5]	3^3	La	—	(**Ven** 1)	
29	38-41	19′-21	Patrem	$3^2(^3)$	Ord	—		
30	41	21	Ave preciosa gem[m]a	2^2	La	—		
31	42-43	21′-22	Sanctus – *Tro.* Deus pater	3^3	Ord	—		
32	43	22	Gaude flore virginali	3^3	La	—	**BL** 285	
33	44-45	22′-23	Agnus – *Tro.* Alme pater	3^3	Ord	—		
34	45	23	Ave verum corpus natum	3^1	La	—		
35	46-47	23′-24	Et in terra	3^3	Ord	Arnoldus de latinis	**BL** 90	
36	48-51	24′-26	Patrem	3^3	Ord	(Ar. de Lantins)	**BL** 91	
37	51	26	O quam suavis est	3^3	La	—		

[5] The composition **Ven** 1 is similar at the beginning, but continues in a different way. See JEPPESEN, p. 71.

Number	Page	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
38	52-55	26′-28	Patrem [6]	4^2	Ord	G. du fay	**BL** 34 ; **Ca 6**, 6 **Ca 11**, 16 ; **Ao** 91	Amen with *Tro.* Dic, Maria
39	54-55	27′-28	Merce te chiamo, o dolze anima mia	2^1	(iB)	—		

SECTION III. *MOTETS*

Number	Page	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
40	56-57	28′-29	Suppremum [est] mortalibus bonum [7]	3^2 (Fb)	isMo	G. du fay	**BL** 168 ; **Mod B** f. 66′-67 ; **Tr 92**, 1391 ; **Em** 219	Edn. *DTÖ* 76, 24; *Dufay*, fasc. 2, No. 5
41	58-59	29′-30	Francorum nobilitati	3^1	Mo	B. feragut	**O** f. 11′-12	Edn. *PS*, 257
42	60-61	30′-31	Cristus vincit, Christus regnat	3^3	Mo	Ugo de latinis		Doge Fr. Foscari, 1423-1457
43	60-61	30′-31	Ave corpus vere natum	2^2	La	—		
44	62	31′	Ave regina celorum	2^2	A	—		
45	62-63	31′-32	O Toma didime	3^2	Mo	do. va [illegible] (Vala)		
46	64-65	32′-33	Alma redemptoris mater	3^3	A	G. du fay	**BL** 224	
47	65	33	Ave fuit prima salus [8]	3^3	La	—	**BL** 172	Sup. = T. **Ven** f. 108′-109
48	66-67	33′-34	Tota pulcra es	3^2	Mo	(Ar. de Lantinis)	**BL** 202 (4 voc.) ; **O** f. 42′ ; **Em** 261 (4 voc.) ; **Str** 23 (2 voc.) ; **PC** f. 65 (only T.)	Edn. *PS*, 262

[6] For the Amen with tropes see Besseler, *Bourdon*, p. 212 f. [7] Heading : Pro pace / pro duobus magnis luminaribus mundi. The composition is of 1433. [8] The upper voice recurs as tenor in **Ven** f. 108′-109. See Jeppesen, p. 73.

Number	Page	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
49	67	34	Agnus dei	2^2	Ord	—		
50	68-69	34′-35	O pulcerima mulierum	3^2	Mo	(Art. de Lantinis)	**BL** 178 ; **O** f. 80′	Edn. *PS*, 269 + 272
51	69	35	Ave regina celorum	3^2	A	—		
52	70-71	35′-36	Vergene bella che de sol vestita	3^1 (^{3})	Mo	G. du fay	**BL** 201 ; **O** f. 133′-134	Facs. *Lisio* ; Edn. *Besseler*, No. 2
53	72-73	36′-37	O virum omnimoda veneracione dignum O lux et decus Turonensium T. O beate Nicholae	4^3	Mo	Jo. Cichonia	**BL** 254	Edn. *MMA*, 204 (ending)
54	74-75	37′-38	O anima Christi sanctifica me	3^2	Mo	—		Edn. *WGM*, 2/3, No. 31
55	75	38	Innicietur regi melos	3^2	La	—		
56	76-77	38′-39	Ducalis sedes inclita Stirps... Veneti [9]	3^2	Mo	(Anthonius Romanus)	**BL** 243 (4 voc.)	Doge T. Mocenigo, 1414-1423. Edn. *Schering*, No. 30
57	78-79	39′-40	Ave mater o Maria	4^4	La	—	**Wolk** 116 (3 voc.); **Ven** 14 (3 voc., Ct. different)	Edn. *DTÖ* IX. 1, 205 (after **Wolk**)
58	78-79	39′-40	Sanctus – *Tro.* Admirabilis splendor	2^2	Ord	—		
59	80	40′	Salve regina misericordie	3^2	A	(Jo. Reson)	**BL** 179	
60	81	41	Viva san Marcho glorioso [10]	3^2	iB	—		
61	82-83	41′-42	Benedicta es [celorum regina] [11]	$3^1/2^2$	S	(de anglia)	**BL** 185 ; **Tr** 92, 1531	Edn. *DTÖ* 76, 81

[9] There is a gap in the original beginning of the text *Stirps Mocenica Veneti* in the place of the second word. The document therefore was written after the death of the Doge Mocenigo (1423). [10] Four staves of the upper voice have been cut off. [11] Four staves have been cut off from the upper voice ; two others are still there.

Number	Page	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
62	83	42	Kyrie [12]	3^3 Fb.	Ord	(Dufay)	**BL** 123 ; **Tr** 92, 1387; **Ao** 20(an.); **Em** 56 (an.)	« a faulx bordon »
63	84-85	42′-43	Quam pulcra es	3^2	Mo	(Dunstaple)	**BL** 291 ; **Ao** 138 ; **Tr 92**, 1465; **ModB** f. 81′-82; **Pemb** f. IV ; **Em** 122	Edn. *DTÖ* VII, 190 ; *Schering*, No. 34 ; *Capella*, No. 1
64	86	43′	Anima mea liquefacta est	2^1	Mo	Leonel	**Mod B** f. 117′-118	*Schering*, No. 37
65	86-87	43′-44	Sanctus	3^1	Ord	B. feragut		
66	88-89	44′-45	Imera dat hodierno	3^2	Mo	Grossim	**BL** 203 ; **O** f. 48′-49 ; **Tr 92**, 1481 ; **Em** 156 ; **PC** f.63′ (only T.)	Edn. *DTÖ* VII, 208
67	89	45	Con desiderio io vo cerchando	2^1	La	—		
Supplement (hollow notation)								
68	90-95	45′-48	Magnificat ‖ anima mea	3^1	Mag	Binchoys	**Mod B** f. 31-32′ Dufay-Binchois ; **FM**$_1$ 20 (an.)	Edn. *Marix*, 131
—	96	48′	(empty staves)	—	—	—	—	—

[12] Ct. to the last Kyrie.

Number	Page	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
			SECTION IV. *SECULAR WORKS*					
69	97	49	En bianca vesta pellegrina cerva	2^2	iB	—		
70	97	49	Fugir non posso dal tuo dolze volt[o]	2^2	iB	—	**Luc** 60 ; **PC** f. 63 (only T.)	
71	98-99	49′-50	Deduto sey a quel che may non fusti	3^2	iB	—	**Pz** f. 25′-26′ (2 voc.)	
72	100	50′	O bella rosa, o perla angelichata	2^2	iB	—		
73	101	51	Merce o morte, o vaga anima mia	2^2	iB	—	**Pz** f. 18′-19	
74	100-101	50′-51	O zentil madona mia	2^2	iB	—		
75	102-103	51′-52	Invidia inimica	4^1	iB	G. du fay	**O** f. 128′-129	
76	104	52′	Degardes vous de le cordon	2^2	V	Prepositi Brixiensis		
77	104	52′	La belle se sit a pi du la tour	2^1	Ch	(G. Dufay)	**O** f. 31; **PR** f.108′-109 (an.)	Edn. *Stainer*, 122
78	105	53	Pour amour de la rosete	3^2	R	do. vala		
Supplement (hollow Gregorian notes)								
79	106	53′	Angelus autem domini	1^1	—	—		Plain-chant
80	107	54	Assumpsit Jhesus Petrum	1^1	—	—		Plain-chant
Supplement (black Gregorian notes)								
81	107-109	54-55	Christus natus est nobis	1^1	—	—		Plain-chant

Number	Page	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Composer	Concordances	Remarks
Supplement (black notation)								
82	109	55	Benedicamus domino	3^1	—	—		
Supplement (black Gregorian notes)								
83	109	55	Et audientes discipuli	1^1	—	—		Plain chant
Corpus								
84	110	55′	Belle vuilles vostre mercy donner	3^2	R	G. du [illegible] y	**O** f. 118′-119; **PC** f. 43 (T. and Ct. only)	
85	111	56	A vous me recummant toudis	3^2	V	do. va [illegible] (Vala)		
86	110-111	55′-56	Gardes vous bien de trop parler Voluntier ye me garderoye	3	(DR)	—		
87	112	56′	Vous soies la tres bien venue	2^2	R	(C. de Merques)	**Tr 87**, 110 (3voc.)	Edn. *DTÖ* XI. 1, 91
88	112	56′	Se ye vous ay bien loyaument amee	2^2	R	(Nicolaus Grenon)	**O** f. 81′; **Pz** f. 4′ (an.)	Edn. *Marix*, 7
89	113	57	Pour honnorer ma gentil damoyselle	3^2	R	—	**Pz** f. 2′	
90	113	57	Adyeu, adyeu, ma dous amye	3^2	(R)	do. va [illegible]		
91	114	57′	Benedicamus cum trine vocis jubilo Benedicamus domino (T., Ct.)	$3^1(^3)$	Mo	—		
Supplement (black notation)								
92	(114)	(57′)	In natali domini	2^2	La	—	**BL** 180 (4 voc.); **Tr 87**, 163 (3 voc.)	

GASPAR VAN WEERBEKE [1]

GERHARD CROLL (*Goettingen*)

An outline of his life and works

I. — Biography [2]

The sources for the biography of Gaspar van Weerbeke are larger in number than those we know for most of the other composers of the age of Josquin [3]. Only the first period of Weerbeke's life, from his birth, in about 1445, to his first appearance in the Milanese court-chapel, in Spring 1472, remains obscure. About his death we only know that it was « after 1514 ». The years, however, between these fixed dates, 1472 and 1514, comprise the greater and certainly the most important part of Weerbeke's life, and at least its salient facts lie open before us. This life, as known to us, may be divided in four parts.

[1] In the following essay I use this spelling of Gaspar's name, according to the spelling in the town-acts of Audenarde, his presumptive native town. Cf. E. v. d. Straeten, *La musique aux Pays-Bas*, Bruxelles 1867-1888, vol. II, p. 65.

[2] A detailed biography of Gaspar van Weerbeke together with the complete biographical sources will be given in my dissertation which is being prepared at Göttingen University.

[3] The biographical sources have been drawn from :

E. v. d. Straeten, *La musique aux Pays-Bas*, Bruxelles 1867-1888.

G. Porro, « Lettere di Galeazzo Maria Sforza, duca di Milano », in *Archivio storico lombardo*, anno V, 1878, p. 107 ff., p. 254 ff. and p. 637 ff. ; anno VI, 1879, p. 250 ff.

D. Muoni, « Maestri di cappella del Duomo di Milano », in *Arch. stor. lomb.*, anno X, 1883, p. 211 ff.

E. Motta, « Musici alla Corte degli Sforza », in *Arch. stor. lomb.*, anno XIV, 1887, p. 29 ff., p. 278 ff. and p. 514 ff.

Fr. X. Haberl, « Die römische, schola cantorum' und die päpstlichen Kapellsänger bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts », in *Vjschr. f. MW*, III, 1887, p. 189 ff., separately printed as *Bausteine für Musikgeschichte*, III, Leipzig 1888.

G. van Doorslaer, « Aperçu sur la Pratique du Chant à Malines au XVe siècle », in *Annales de l'Academie Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique*, 7e série, Tome VII, Antwerpen 1930, p. 465 ff.

G. van Doorslaer, « La chapelle musicale de Philippe le Beau », in *Revue belge d'archéologie et histoire de l'art*, Tome IV, Antwerpen 1934, p. 21 ff and p. 139 ff.

As a result of personal studies in the state-archives of Rome and Milan numerous addenda and corrigenda could be added to these publications.

1. First activity in Milan at the court of the Sforza (1472-1480/81).

The earliest biographical sources [4] are closely connected with the foundation of the Milanese court-chapel by the Duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza (1444-1476). Gaspar, who had gone to the court probably in the winter of 1471-1472, was appointed as organiser of the court-chapel. By the order of the Duke, Gaspar went twice to Burgundy and Flanders (April 1472 and January 1473) to engage new singers. Famous masters were won to this court-chapel. Among the 40 singers named in the registers of the chapel are Josquin des Prés, Loyset Compère, Johannes Cordier, Johannes Martini, Jacotin. As « vice-abbe » Gaspar was conductor of the 17 « cantori de camera ».

But this prime of musical life was to be short. The political uncertainty after the murder of the Duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza in 26th December, 1476 induced many of the singers of the chapel to give up their position. In winter 1480/81 Weerbeke too left the court of the Sforza and went to Rome.

2. First activity at the papal chapel in Rome (1481-1489).

Gaspar's name is first mentioned among singers of the papal chapel in February, 1481, in the pontificate of Pope Sixtus IV (1471-1484) [5]. He is registered with the singers of this chapel until the spring of 1489. During this time he was promoted from the 19th place — the last — to the 5th. In the middle of April, 1489 he left Rome and went to the court of Milan for a short time.

3. Renewed connection with the court of the Sforza ; temporary activity in the chapel of Philipp le Beau (1489-1498 ; 1496-1497).

As early as the autumn of 1489 [6] Gaspar was again in Flanders, probably, to enlist new singers for the court at Milan. It appears from the sources for 1490 to 1498 that Gaspar had no permanent position in Milan ; he had nevertheless connections with that court until 1498.

During this time Gaspar was active at the former Burgundian court-chapel of Philipp le Beau. We find him there from 1496 to 1497 [7]. In the autumn of 1498 he again enlisted three singers for

[4] Cf. v. d. Straeten, *loc. cit.*, vol. VII, p. 142-143, and Motta, *loc. cit.*, p. 308-309.

[5] Gaspar did not accept a seductive offer to return to Milan in April 1482. Cf. Motta, *loc. cit.*, p. 326.

[6] Not, as v. d. Straeten, *loc. cit.* says 1490.

[7] At the same time Pierre de la Rue was a member of the chapel.

the court of the Sforza. Probably Gaspar himself escorted these singers to Milan, as Ludovico il Moro had by a letter wished so.

4. Last activity at the papal chapel in Rome (1500-after 1514).

According to the extant sources for this last period of Gaspar's life, it is very probable that he stayed in Rome at least until 1514. His name is registered in the list of singers of the papal chapel from 1500 to 1509 [8]. At last we find him in the second place in the list. The last information about Gaspar we trace in the *Liber Fratrum Confraternitatis Campi Sancti* in Rome. He joined this congregation in 26th December, 1514. [9] Probably soon afterwards the master, who was then of an advanced age, died.

II. — List of Gaspar's Works [10]

The following list gives an account of all the extant compositions[11].

A) Motets.

1. Adonai sanctissime Domine Deus	Florence, Bibl. Naz. ms. Panc. 27, f. 70'-71, Gaspar St. Gall, ms. 463 (incomplete), No. 104, Gaspar St. Gall, ms. 530, f. 83'-84, Gaspar Petrucci, Mot. A (1502), f. 15'-16, Gaspar
2. Anima Christi sanctifica me	Petrucci, Mot. B (1503), f. 45'-46, Gaspar

[8] From the years 1503-1507 and 1509-1513 no lists are extant.

[9] Cf. Haberl, *Bausteine*, p. 115, register under the name of « Caspar ». The complete entry in the « Liber Fratrum Confraternitatis » runs as follows : « Dominus Jasper Werbeke Cantor Capellae papalis intravit in confraternitate beatae Mariae campi sancti die 26. dessembris 1514 et solvit julios tres ». I am indebted to the rector of the Collegio Teutonico in Rome, Msgr. E. M. Stoeckle, for having given me the complete text of this entry ; according to his information in the lists of defunct members of the confraternity no entry concerning Gaspar can be found. Perhaps Weerbeke died on a journey out of Rome.

[10] A complete edition in *Corpus mensurabilis musicae* is being prepared by the author.

[11] I should be sincerely thankful for any supplementary information. — If not indicated otherwise, all compositions are four 4 voices.

3. Ave domina sancta Maria	Petrucci, Mot. A (1502), f. 38′-40, Gaspar
4. Ave mater omnium	Petrucci, Mot. 4 (1505), f. 29′-30 (Disc. partbook) Gaspar Sebald Heyden, De arte canendi (1537) f. 114-115 ; (1540) f.144-147 Gaspar
5. Ave regina coelorum	Rome, Bibl. Vat., C. S. cod. 15, f. 201′-204 Gaspar
6. Ave stella matutina	Florence, Bibl. Naz. ms. Panc. 27, f. 99′-100, Gaspar Milan, Fabbr. d. Duomo, cod. 2269, f. 116′-117, Gaspar Petrucci, Mot. A (1502), f. 51′-52, Gaspar
7. Ave verum corpus	Petrucci, Mot. B (1503), f. 42′-44, Gaspar
8. Christi mater ave sanctissima	Florence, Bibl. Naz. ms. Panc. 27, f. 67′-68, Gaspar Milan, Fabbr. d. Duomo, cod. 2269, f. 114′-115, Gaspar Petrucci, Mot. A (1502), f. 50′-51, Gaspar
9. Dulcis amica Dei digna (Tenor "Da pacem Domine") (5 voc.)	Rome, Bibl. Vat., C. S. cod. 15, f. 204′-208, Gaspar Petrucci, Mot. 5 (1508 ?), No. III, Gaspar
10. Ibo mihi ad montem mirrhe	Florence, Bibl. Naz. ms. Panc. 27, f. 100′-101, anon. Petrucci, Mot. A (1502), f. 37′-38, Gaspar
11. Lamentationes Jeremiae	Petrucci, Lament. lib. sec. (1506), Gaspar
12. Magnificat oct. toni	Rome, Bibl. Vat., C. S. cod. 15, f. 148′-153, Gaspar.

13. Mater digna Dei	Florence, Bibl. Naz. ms. Panc. 27, f. 39′-40, anon. Milan, Fabbr. d. Duomo, cod. 2269, f. 115′-116, Gaspar Padua, Bibl. d. Duomo, cod. A 17, f. 156 anon. Verona, Bibl. capit., cod. 758, f. 19′-20, anon. Petrucci, Mot. A (1502), f. 54′-55, Gaspar.
14. O beate Sebastiane	Barcelona, Bibl. centr., cod. M 454, f. 16′-17, Gaspar Petrucci, Mot. 4 (1505), f. 20 (Disc. partbook), Gaspar
15. O pulcherrima mulierum surge	Florence, Bibl. Naz. ms. Panc. 27, f. 59′-60, Gaspar Petrucci, Mot. A (1502), f. 40′-41, Gaspar
16. Panis angelicus	Petrucci, Mot. B (1503), f. 41′-42, Gaspar Petrucci, Laude Libro secondo (1508) f. 8′ (« Ave panis angelorum »), anon. (without bars 22-28)
17. Salve sancta parens	Petrucci, Fragm. miss. (1505), f. 3′ (Disc. partbook), Gaspar
18. Spiritus Domini replevit orbem	Padua, Bibl. d. Duomo, cod. A 17, f. 80, anon. Petrucci, Mot. 4 (1505), f. 29 (Disc. partbook), « Gaspar in honorem sancti spiritus »
19. Veni sancte spiritus	Padua, Bibl. d. Duomo, cod. A 17, f. 82, anon. Petrucci, Mot. 4 (1505), f. 29′ (Disc. partbook), Gaspar
20. Beata gens cuius est Dominus	Petrucci, Mot. 4 (1505), f. 29′ (Disc. partbook), Gaspar
21. Confirma hoc Deus	Petrucci, Mot. 4 (1505), f. 30 (Disc. partbook), Gaspar

22. Loquebantur variis linguis	Petrucci, Mot. 4 (1505), f. 30 (Disc. partbook), Gaspar
23. Factus est repente de coelo	Petrucci, Mot. 4 (1505), f. 30′ (Disc. partbook), Gaspar
24. Stabat mater dolorosa (Tenor "Vidi speciosam") (5 voc.)	Rome, Bibl. Vat., Chigi CVIII 234, f. 245′-249, Gaspar
25. Tenebrae factae sunt	Petrucci, Mot. B (1503), f. 16′-17, Gaspar
26. Verbum caro factum est	Petrucci, Mot. B (1503), f. 19′-21, Gaspar Petrucci, Laude Libro secondo (1508), fol. 51 and f. 54′-55 ("O inextimabilis dilectio caritatis"), anon. (without bars 51-103)
27. Vidi speciosam sicut columbam	Petrucci, Mot. A (1502), f. 42′-43, Gaspar
28. Virgo Maria non est tibi similis	Florence, Bibl. Naz. ms. Panc. 27, f. 66′-67, Gaspar St. Gallen, ms. 530, f. 89′, Gaspar Petrucci, Mot. A (1502), f. 21′-22, Gaspar

B) Motet cycles used as masses (« *Motetti missales* »)

1. *Ave mundi domina*	Milan, Fabbr. del Duomo, cod. 2269, f. 126′-127, Gaspar
Ave mater gloriosa	Milan, Fabbr. del Duomo, cod. 2269, f. 127′-128, Gaspar
Salve virgo virginum	Milan, Fabbr. del Duomo, cod. 2269, f. 128′-129, Gaspar
Anima mea liquefacta est	Milan, Fabbr. del Duomo, cod. 2269, f. 129′-130, Gaspar Florence, Bibl. Naz. ms. XIX 178, f. 72′-73, Gaspar

	Breslau, Inst. of Musicol., cod. Mf 2016, f. 10′-11, anon.
Ave regina coelorum ave	Milan, Fabbr. del Duomo, cod. 2269, f. 130′-131, Gaspar Milan, Fabbr. del Duomo, cod. 2268, f. 51′-52, anon.
Quem terra pontus aethera	Milan, Fabbr. del Duomo, cod. 2269, f. 131′-132, Gaspar Milan, Fabbr. del Duomo, cod. 2268, f. 52′-53, anon. Breslau, Inst. of Musicol., cod. Mf 2016, f. 11′-12, anon.
O virginum praeclara	Milan, Fabbr. del Duomo, cod. 2269, f. 132′-133, Gaspar
Fit porta Christi	Milan, Fabbr. del Duomo, cod. 2269, f. 133′-134, Gaspar
2. *Quam pulcra es*	Milan, Fabbr. del Duomo, cod. 2269, f. 134′-135, Gaspar Milan, Fabbr. del Duomo, cod. 2268, f. 48′-49, Gaspar
Alma redemptoris mater	Milan, Fabbr. del Duomo, cod. 2269, f. 135′-136, Gaspar
Salve virgo salutata	Milan, Fabbr. del Duomo, cod. 2269, f. 136′-137, Gaspar
O pulcherrima mulierum qualis est dilectus tuus	Milan, Fabbr. del Duomo, cod. 2269, f. 137′-138, Gaspar
Ave regina coelorum mater	Milan, Fabbr. del Duomo, cod. 2269, f. 138′-139, Gaspar Milan, Fabbr. del Duomo, cod. 2268, f. 49′-50, anon.
O Maria clausus ortus	Milan, Fabbr. del Duomo, cod. 2269, f. 139′-140, Gaspar Milan, Fabbr. del Duomo, cod. 2268, f. 50′-51, anon.

Mater patris filia mulierum	Milan, Fabbr. del Duomo, cod. 2269, f. 140′-141, Gaspar
Tota pulcra es amica mea	Milan, Fabbr. del Duomo, cod. 2269, f. 141′-143, Gaspar

C) Masses.

1. Missa « Ave regina coelorum »	Milan, Fabbr. del Duomo, cod. 2268, f. 160′-176, Gaspar Rome, Bibl. Vat., C. S. cod. 14, f. 14′-27, Gaspar Petrucci, Misse Gaspar (1507), No. 1
2. Missa brevis	Jena, Univers. library, cod. 21, f. 87′-100, Jaspar
3. Missa « Et trop penser »	Rome, Bibl. Vat., C. S. cod. 41, f. 156′-174, Gaspar Petrucci, Misse Gaspar (1507), No. 3
4. Missa « N'as tu pas »	Rome, Bibl. Vat., Santa Maria Maggiore JJ. III. 4, f. 253′-256 (Credo only), anon. Petrucci, Miss. div. auct. lib. prim. (1508), No. 4, Gaspar
5. Missa « Octavi toni »	Jena, Univers. library, cod. 31, f. 182′-198, anon. Cambrai, Municipal library ms. 18, f. 15-28, anon. Petrucci, Misse Gaspar (1507), No. 4 Sebald Heyden, De arte canendi, lib. II (1540), f. 162-163 (Agnus 3 only), Gaspar
6. Missa « Princesse d'amourettes »	Jena, Univers. library, cod. 31, f. 163′-182, anon. Rome, Bibl. Vat., C. S. cod. 35, f. 157′-169, Gaspar Vienna, Univers. library, cod. 1783, f. 33′-48, Jaspar

7. Missa « Se mieulx ne vient »	Rome, Bibl. Vat., C. S. cod. 35, f. 136-147, Gaspar Leipzig, Univers. library, cod. 1494, f. 204′-212, anon. Petrucci, Misse Gaspar (1507), No. 5
8. Missa « O venus banth »	Berlin, Öffentl. Wissenschaftl. Bibl., ms. 40021, f. 23-29′, anon. Breslau, Inst. of Musicology, cod. Mf 2016, f. 120′-130 (without Agnus), anon. Königgrätz, Städt. Museum, cod. Specialnik, g 13 b (Credo), g 16 b (Sanctus), anon. Leipzig, Univers. library, cod. 1494 f. 165′-166 (« Et incarnatus » of the mass as motet « Respice virgo pura »), V. b. Modena, Bibl. Est., cod. L 456, No. 17, Guaspar uuarbec Rome, Bibl. Vat., C. S. cod. 51, f. 132′-145, Gaspar Rome, Bibl. Vat., Santa Maria Maggiore JJ.III. 4, f. 97′-119, anon. Verona, Bibl. capit., cod. 755, f. 63′-66 (incomplete), anon. Petrucci, Misse Gaspar (1507), No. 2

Mass — parts.

1. Credo	Rome, Bibl. Vat., C. S. cod. 51, f. 180′-183, anon. Verona, Bibl. capit., cod. 761, f. 217′-219, anon. Petrucci, Fragm. miss. (1505), f. 17 (Disc. part-book) Gaspar
2. Credo cardinale	Petrucci, Fragm. miss. (1505), f. 6 (Disc. part-book) Gaspar

D) Chansons.

1. « Bon temps » (4 voc.)	Florence, Cons. Mus., ms. 2442 (incomplete), f. 172-174 (Disc. part-book), Gaspart

2. « La stangetta » (3 voc.)	Florence, Bibl. Naz. ms. Panc. 27, f. 34′-35, anon. Heilbronn, Gymnasialbibl., ms. X 2 No. 29 (bass-partbook only) Bologna, Cons. Musica. ms. Q 16 (cod. 109), f. 68′-69 (« Ce n'est pas ») anon. Zwickau, Ratsschulbibl., ms. 12, No. 18, Obrecht Petrucci, Odhecaton (1501), f. 54′-55, Uuerbeck Formschneider, Trium vocum carmina (1538) No. 44, anon. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Rés. Vm[7] 504, No. 54, anon.
3. « O venus banth » (3 voc.)	Sevilla, Bibl. Colombina, ms. 5-I-43, f. 135′-136, Gaspar St. Gall, ms. 463, No. 48 Josquinus Pratensis Petrucci, Odhecaton (1501), f. 84′-85, Josquin
4. « Que fait le cocu au bois » (4 voc.)	Florence, Cons. Mus., ms. 2442 (incomplete), f. 175-177 (Disc. partbook), Gaspart
5. « Sans regrets » (3 voc.)	Florence, Cons. Mus., ms. 2439, f. 79′-80, Jaspar

III. — Gaspar's position in musical history

Gaspar stood in high esteem of his contemporaries. This is shown by the large number of compositions printed by Petrucci under his name. Altogether Petrucci published of Gaspar's works 24 motets, lamentationes and orationes Jeremiae, 6 masses, 2 Credo, and one chanson [12]. In Petrucci's first motet collection [13] Gaspar is represented by a greater number of compositions than all others: e.g. Josquin, Compère, Brumel, and Ghiselin. A collection of 5 masses is dedicated exclusively to Gaspar [14], an honour which was granted

[12] The genuineness of which, however, is doubtful. See list of works.
[13] *Motetti A* (1502).
[14] *Misse Gaspar* (1507).

only the greatest composers of this time. Gaspar is named by Cretin in his *Déploration* on the death of Ockeghem, and Gafurius, who collected many compositions of Gaspar [15] and probably made his acquaintance in the summer of 1489 in Milan, mentions him among the « Jucundissimi compositores » in his *Practica musicae*, published in Milan, 1496 [16].

Modern musicology has not yet acknowledged Gaspar to the measure of his historical importance. The only special study, the dissertation of Werner Wegner at Marburg University in 1940 on the mass « O venus banth » had to be finished prematurely in consequence of wartime conditions and is extant to-day only in two typewritten copies in private libraries [17]. The dissertation being prepared by the author of this article will be a special investigation of Gaspar's motets.

Gaspar's stylistic peculiarity has been outlined only in some general histories of music. Ambros points out Gaspar's « entschiedenes Streben nach Mass und Klarheit der Komposition. Er verschmäht es beinahe ganz, auf jene Sonderbarkeiten auszugehen, in denen die Schule oft das Bedeutende suchen zu müssen glaubte » [18]. Pirro too emphasizes the simplicity in his technique of composition, his well-balanced melody and lucid form [19]. Similar to this is van den Borren's judgment [20]. With reference to a lecture of Pirro he draws attention to the « modern » features in Gaspar's work : the preference of a homophonic structure of the composition, of a nearly functional harmony, of parallel thirds and sixths which often go with a division of the composition into two pairs of voices, and of a partially declamatory treatment of the text.

Irrespective of the last two points (which are no characteristic features of Gaspar's personal style and are to be found more pronouncedly with some of his contemporaries, for instance Josquin and Compère) it appears from the stylistic features described by Ambros, Pirro, and van den Borren that Gaspar maintains an exceptional position within the generation of Josquin. This is reflected by his motets, among which those for 4 and 5 voices are strictly different from each other in structure, and likewise by his masses.

1. Gaspar's 4-voice motets show strong Italian influences. Owing

[15] Cod. 2269 of the Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano.

[16] Book III, chapter 12.

[17] To Prof. Rudolf Bultmann and Mrs. Bultmann in Marburg I say my sincere thanks for their kind permission to use their copy. Wegner investigates the different compositions of the chanson « O venus banth » by Isaac, Agricola, and Josquin and gives a thorough analysis of Gaspar's mass.

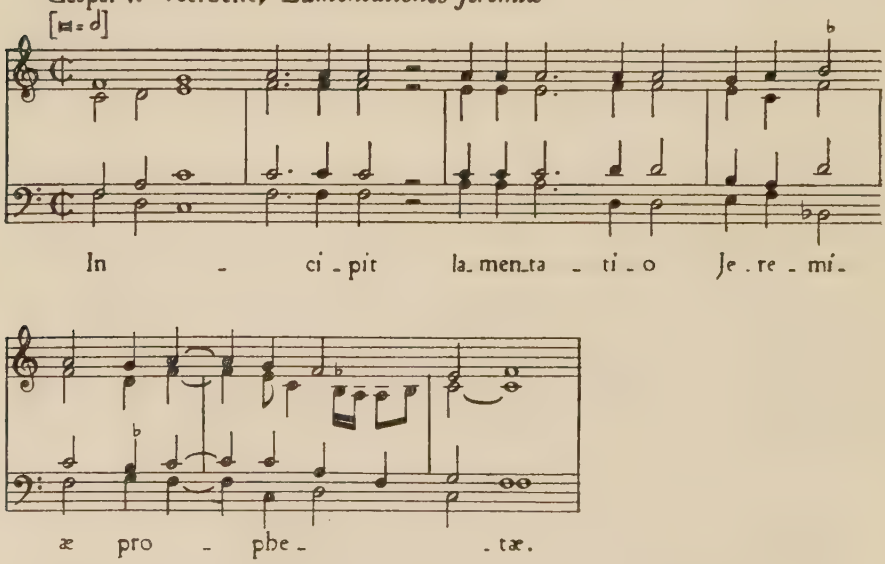
[18] *Geschichte der Musik*, vol. III, p. 250 ff.

[19] *Histoire de la musique de la fin du XIVe siècle à la fin du XVIe*. Paris 1940.

[20] *Biographie Nationale... de Belgique*, Tome XXVII, coll. 152-159.

to Jeppesen's researches [21] we know that in Italy there existed about 1500 a native musical tradition strictly contrary to that of the Netherlands. This musical culture expressed itself in secular and sacred music and is characterised by 4-voice settings in strict homophony, by simplicity and lucidity of form and by a harmony which is sometimes pronouncedly functional. Italian influences are traceable in the works of other Flemish composers too. So Jeppesen emphasizes the marked similarities in the style of the secular Italian songs of Obrecht, Isaac, and Josquin. Doubtless the compositions in Petrucci's *Mottetti B* are more or less closely related by these characteristics of style. No Flemish composer however, of the time of Josquin seems to have been influenced by the South so lastingly as Gaspar in his 4-voice motets, perhaps because of his nearly uninterrupted life in Italy. How closely he adopted the Italian practice in his compositions can be demonstrated by his *Lamentationes Jeremiae* (see above, No. 11). Compare the beginning of this composition with the *Lamentationes Jeremiae* of the Italian master Tromboncino, published in the same print of Petrucci's :

Gaspar v. Weerbeke, "*Lamentationes Jeremiæ*"



[21] Reports of the Congress of the International Society of Musicology, Liége 1930. — *ZfMW* XII, p. 73 ff. — *Die mehrstimmige italienische Laude um 1500*, Leipzig and Copenhagen 1935.

B. Tromboncino, "*Lamentationes Jeremiæ*"

[♩ = d]

In - ci - pit la - men - ta - ti - o Je -

In - ci - pit la - men - ta - ti - o Je - re - mi -

In - ci - pit la - men - ta - ti - o Je - re -

re - mi - æ pro - phe - tæ.

æ pro - phe - tæ.

mi - æ pro - phe - tæ.

Very informative too is the fact that two motets of Gaspar which had been published by Petrucci in his second motet-print [22] were afterwards inserted in Petrucci's second publication of Laude [23]. Both compositions, « Panis angelicus » and « Verbum caro factum est » (see above, Nos. 16 and 26), needed but little alteration, in connection with the setting of a new text, for being inserted in this pronouncedly Italian collection. But a duet of the upper voices of seven bars in the motet « Panis angelicus » and the middle part of « Verbum caro factum est » which was in perfect measure with some imitations were deleted. It is obvious that the 2-voice setting so highly esteemed by the Flemish composers, the *tempus perfectum*, and the imitative style did not satisfy the ideal of sound in the Italian music of about 1500 !

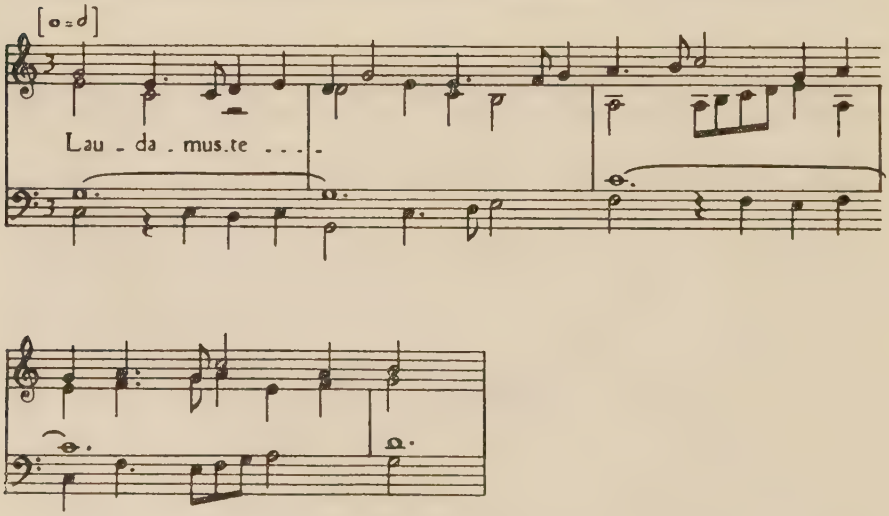
2. In both 5-voice motets, however, Gaspar proves to be closely connected with the Burgundian-Flemish tradition (see above Nos. 9

[22] *Motetti B* (1503).
[23] *Laude Libro secondo* (1508).

and 24). Here he preserves the type of the 5-voice tenor motet as it was created by Johannes Regis more strictly than any of his contemporaries [24]. The tenor bears the *cantus firmus* and is the pivot of the composition. Together with the bass the tenor forms a harmonic basis in long note-values. The quickly moving discant is the principle melodic voice. *Contratenor altus* and *vagans* are inserted as filling voices. An alteration of this type by canonic doubling of the tenor or consequent imitation of the outer voices — as usual with Obrecht, Josquin, or Compère — can nowhere be found in Gaspar's works. He only enriches the type of Regis by his more modern declamation which is accommodated to the text. This may be said especially of his mighty and impressive « Stabat mater ».

3. In his masses Gaspar is obviously influenced by Dufay. The harmony is bright and clear, very much like that of Dufay's masses. Imitations are comparatively rare. The « obscuritas » (Tinctoris) of the prescriptions for canons, so significant for his Flemish contemporaries, can be found in no mass of Gaspar's. The tenor, bearing the *cantus firmus*, is mostly isolated very distinctly from the other voices. There is a decided predilection for major tonality. Gaspar often forms sections in major harmonies along the long notes of the tenor : discant, alto and bass move in scales or triads which clarify the harmonic function of the tenor notes :

Gaspar v. Weerbeke, Mass *"Princesse d'amourettes"*, Gloria, bar 11-15



[24] Wolfgang Stephan, « Die burgundisch-niederländische Motette zur Zeit Ockeghems », *Heidelberger Studien zur MW*, VI, Kassel 1937. — C. W. H. Lindenburg, *Het leven en de werken van Johannes Regis*, Diss. Utrecht 1938.

The duets of the upper voices, which initiate every part of the mass with melodic analogies and which are typical of Dufay's 4-voice masses are used sometimes by Gaspar, the most distinct examples of this technique being the masses « Ave regina coelorum » and « O venus banth ».

Gaspar's relation to Dufay is suggested by his life in Italy. The sources of the masses (see above II.) induce us to suppose that Gaspar wrote a great part of them in Rome where as a papal chapel singer he probably came into close contact with Dufay's works [25].

The unintelligible situation concerning the question of Gaspar's chansons is evident from the list of works. Not a single chanson can without doubt be ascribed to Gaspar. Whenever as composer « Gaspart » or « Jaspar » is named we have to reckon with the possibility of the authorship of Japart [26]. With regard to this situation and to the fact that in any case the chanson in Gaspar's work plays a very subordinate part we can here desist from any analysis.

[25] In the cod. 14 of the Capp. Sist. several masses of Dufay's are copied together with Gaspar's mass « Ave regina coelorum ».

[26] A. Pirro, *loc. cit.*, p. 214.

AN INTRODUCTION TO FAYRFAX

Dom ANSELM HUGHES
(*Monk of Nashdom Abbey*)

I.

The name of Robert Fayrfax, Doctor of Music, is to be found in all histories of English music from the time of Thomas Morley onwards. His name is spelt with a « y » in his own lifetime and up to the end of the sixteenth century, after which the spelling « Fairfax » became almost universal. The older spelling is retained here, for if we are to modernize it we must be consistent, and speak also of William Bird and Doctor Tie. Unfortunately few of our musical historians have much to say about him, with the exception of Charles Burney, who printed six pages of extracts from his music in 1782 [1]. The reason for this scanty treatment is not far to seek, for it lies in the difficulty of assembling complete copies of his works, of transcribing them when assembled, and of publishing them and performing them when transcribed. Skill in the directions of transcription and performance is happily less rare to-day than it was a generation or two ago, and whereas writers of the last century had to be content with repeating what had been said previously, taking care to avoid revealing their lack of any first-hand knowledge, we can now adventure the task of setting out rather more authoritatively the information at our disposal : and our knowledge will increase as the master's work is scored, published when possible, then performed and heard with critical appreciation.

The earliest English historian to deal with Robert Fayrfax — apart from a mere mention of his name by Morley (1597) and Meres (1598) [2] — is Sir John Hawkins in 1776. Unlike Burney, Hawkins is

[1] *A General History of Music*, II, 546, 547, 561-564. (Volume I was published in 1776, which is the date usually quoted for Burney).

[2] Francis Meres, *Palladia Tamia* (1598). The quotation is not well known and may be given here :— (*p. 279*) « As Greece hath these excellent Musitians ; Arion », (*and 17 others*) « so Englande hath these ; Maister Cooper, Maister Fairfax, Maister Tallis, Master Taverner, Maister Blithman, Maister Bird, Doctor Tie, Doctor Dallis, Doctor Bull, M. Thomas Mud, sometime fellow of Pembrook hal in Cambridge, M. Edward Johnson, Maister Blankes, Maister Randall, Maister Philips, Maister Dowland, and Mr. Morley ».

content with a few lines and a short quotation : but he tells us that Fayrfax was « of the Yorkshire family of that name », and that « Bishop Tanner says that he was of Bayford in the county of Hertford » [3]. This statement has been improved by some later writers into « born at Bayford » [4]. There seems to be no confirmation of this, though the baptismal registers at Bayford do not begin until 1538 [5]. That Fayrfax was organist of St. Alban's Abbey for many years is well known, and Tanner [6] quotes from p. 281 of Chauncy's *Hertfordshire* to the effect that « Beyford » was a possession of St. Alban's. The remuneration of their organist in part or in whole by the allocation of the greater tithes of the impropriate rectory of Bayford would be the normal sort of action which the Abbey authorities might be expected to take in the fifteenth century.

Venn [7] states that Robert Fayrfax, who graduated as Bachelor of Music at the University of Cambridge in 1500/1, was the fourth son of Thomas Fayrfax of Walton in Yorkshire. This would agree with the statement of Hawkins, and would make him first cousin to Sir William Fayrfax of Steeton, who was the ancestor by five generations of Thomas, third Baron Fairfax (1612-71), known as « The Great Lord Fairfax ». But if we turn to the Ainsty of York, the district lying west of the city and the locale of all these place-names, and search for further details, we meet with a serious difficulty. The genealogies of the Fairfax family and its connections have received a good deal of attention at the hands of genealogists, and some of the material of their pedigrees is of early date, being from the hands of such known antiquarian scholars as Brian Fairfax (1633-71). The latest and most thorough work in this direction is that by Robert H. Scaife, a local antiquary whose laborious and fully-documented papers are preserved in the Library of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society at Leeds. Now the « Fairfax Pedigrees » (MS. 1371) which Scaife wrote in 1910 [8] make it abundantly clear that the fourth son of Sir Thomas Fayrfax of Walton (Knight of the Bath in 1495, died 1505) was indeed a Robert ; but that he was not our Doctor of Music who was buried at St. Albans in 1521.

[3] *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (1776), II 517 (Octavo edition of 1875, I 355).

[4] E. g., Davey, *History of English Music* (1895), 2nd ed. (1921), p. 96 : Grattan Flood, in *The Musical Times*, LXI (1920), p. 384.

[5] Information supplied by the Revd. C. H. Brown, Vicar of Bayford (1950).

[6] *Notitia Monastica* (3nd ed. by Nasmith, 1787 : contains numerous additions to Tanner's work, so that the reference ought strictly to be quoted as ' Tanner-Nasmith ').

[7] *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (1912), II 117.

[8] The latest *printed* Fairfax pedigree seems to be that in Harry Speight, *Lower Wharfedale*, p. 168.

He was a country gentleman who lived on one of the family estates at Acaster Malbis, not far from Walton and four miles south of York. His will, directing his burial at Acaster, was made in 1526 and proved at York in 1528. His wife Agnes and four children survived him, another fact which may have helped to originate the confusion, as the Doctor's widow was also named Agnes.

There is a third possibility, if both Bayford and Walton are to be laid aside. This is suggested by the coat of arms which occurs in a musical manuscript in the British Museum, known from one of its former possessors as « The Fairfax Book ». The exact position cannot be stated better than by quoting here from a letter to the writer from Mr. A. J. Collins, Keeper of Manuscripts, in 1949 :—

« On f. 1 of Add. MS. 5465 appear the names of Charles Fairfax (with the date 1618) and of Ralph Thoresby of Leeds, the antiquarian. Below these is a copy of the inscription on the tomb of Robert Fayrfax and his coat of arms. There is some account of this page in the article on Fayrfax in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The arms are not those of the Yorkshire Fairfaxes, and the tinctures are not indicated in sufficient detail to provide a certain identification, but they closely resemble those of the family of Fairfax of Deeping Gate in the county of Lincoln, which are illustrated in Harl. MS. 1550, f. 193^{v}. It is thus probable that Fayrfax belonged to this family, and certain that the MS. has been in the hands of the Yorkshire family. But there appears to be no sure evidence of any relationship between Fayrfax and the Yorkshire Fayrfaxes ».

This coat of arms occurs also in initial letters to two compositions by Fayrfax in this manuscript, on ff. 26^{v} and 27.

As a digression will have to be made sooner or later about the ownership of the Fairfax Book, it may as well be inserted here. The manuscript is a small folio, dated as « early sixteenth century » [9] ; and it contains a number of sacred and secular part-songs, Fayrfax being given as the composer of seven of the latter. The identity of the Charles Fairfax of 1618 is conjectural, but Burney [10] says that the Fairfax Book « was in the possession of General Fayrfax, and upon his demise made part of the Thoresby collection, at the sale of which, it was purchased by Mr. White ». Even without this information from Burney, the name of Ralph Thoresby of Leeds which occurs on f. 1 would have been quite enough to guide us towards the Yorkshire family, for it is on record that his father bought medals and coins from the estate of the ' Great Lord ' Fairfax — Burney's General — (1612-71), whose uncle Charles (1597-1673)

[9] A. Hughes-Hughes, *Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum* (1906), I 139.

[10] *Op. cit.*, II 539.

may well have been the previous owner of the manuscript in 1618. « His signature in Add. 5465 is unlike that in Add. 5160, dated 1622, which agrees closely with those of later letters certainly his. In 1618, however, he was only 21 and his signature may have changed in style between 1618 and 1622 » [11].

Of the subsequent history of the Fairfax Book, we learn from Burney, in a footnote to the passage just cited, that « This MS. is still the property of the worthy Mr. John White, of Newgate Street », which brings the tale of its ownership down to the year 1782 ; and it was purchased by the British Museum at J. Jackson's sale on 30th April 1794.

The pedigree of the Fairfax Book, and its undoubted connection with the illustrious Yorkshire family, may well have been sufficient to make Hawkins feel justified in assuming that Robert the musician belonged also to that clan. Hawkins has been followed, without amplification, by all musical historians since. But there are three difficulties in the way of accepting the Yorkshire claim, all of which need answers before it can be established — (i) the evidence of Scaife, as against Venn [12], for the identification of Robert the musician with the fourth son of Sir Thomas Fayrfax of Walton : (ii) the armorial evidence in the Fairfax book, which points towards Lincolnshire : and (iii) a point not hitherto mentioned, namely that there is no reference to the Doctor in any early researches such as those of Brian Fairfax the nephew of Charles Fairfax the antiquary, to whom allusion has just been made [13]. In the case of a family whose records have been so dilingently studied as those of the Yorkshire Fairfaxes it is simply inconceivable that no mention should have been made of a member who was as illustrious in his own field as were the Great Lord and many others in the political, military, and literary spheres : and the more so because Charles, Brian, and others were themselves genealogists and antiquarians. Between Yorkshire, Hertfordshire, and Lincolnshire, it would seem that in the present state of our knowledge the last-named has the best claim.

[11] In a letter to the writer from Dr. Bertram Schofield, Department of Manuscripts, British Museum.

[12] « I am informed authoritatively that Scaife's book is more reliable than Venn's. Scaife is a recognized authority on York in particular. Venn was covering a very large area, and I am told that Professor Hamilton Thompson has expressed the opinion that his work is 'full of errors' ». In a letter to the writer from Mr. R. J. A. Bunnett F. S. A., Honorary Secretary of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society.

[13] Pedigree in British Museum MS. Egerton 2146, ff. 26 seqq., copied by Brian Fairfax from *Analecta Fairfaxiana*, a manuscript compiled by his uncle Charles. (Information from Dr. Schofield). *Analecta Fairfaxiana* was in 1950 in the possession of Mr. Crowder of Edgbaston, a descendent of the family. Some of the information given by Sir Clements Markham in *Dictionary of National Biography* needs correction.

II.

The exact date of the composer's birth is unknown. There are three indications which may help us towards a reasonable guess: (i) the oldest known manuscript of his work, which is the end part of the Magnificat *Regali* or *Regale*, discovered by the writer in 1945 as a paste-down in the cover of a large folio Bible in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Experts have suggested 1485 or 1490 — or even earlier — for its date, and the Eton MS. 178, which once contained the same Magnificat, is dated only a little later, about 1495. 'Regaly Magnificat', as one manuscript describes it, is obviously a mature work, and if we were to assume that the writer was 30 years old in 1490, the supposition could not be very far wrong.

(ii) The Lambeth Palace MS. 1, which is dated by W. H. Frere at about 1510 [14], contains five Masses, two settings of Magnificat, and two long motets — so long that we should to-day perhaps describe them as Cantatas — from his pen. Except for the motets and one other Mass, this represents the composer's entire known output of Church music, and whether written by his hand or not, it is almost certain that by 1510 the maturity of his composition had reached the later stage of its fruition, if not the completion of his life's work. And some have dated the Lambeth manuscript as earlier than 1510, though it cannot be earlier than 1504, as his exercise for the Cambridge Doctorate in Music is included: very possibly it is quite soon after that event.

(iii) Lastly, there is the appointment of Fayrfax as a Poor Knight of Windsor in 1514, which would be something like a retiring pension. In those days 54 was a more advanced age than it is now, but as Fayrfax headed the royal singers at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520 it might be lawful to suggest that he was not over 60 in that year. So we prefer to assume c. 1460 as the year of his birth, instead of c. 1465 or c. 1470 as suggested hitherto in other works. The date of his death is known with certainty, 24th October 1521. This is the same year as the death of Josquin des Prez, which makes Fayrfax an exact contemporary of the great Netherlander; but the really significant thing about the date is that it is four years before the birth of Palestrina. To listen to some of the music of Fayrfax with this fact in mind is indeed a revelation.

The earliest reference to the career of Fayrfax which has been traced so far is that he was probably a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal in 1496, and possibly earlier [15]. In the following year occurs

[14] *Bibliotheca Musico-Liturgica* (1901), I 4.
[15] Grattan Flood, *loc. cit.*

the record « December 7, Grant to Robert Fayrfax, one of the Gentlemen of the King's Chapel, of the free chapel in the castle of Snodhill, in the diocese of Hereford » [16]. Canon Bannister, Precentor of Hereford Cathedral in 1921, wrote to the late Mr. S. Royle Shore — « Snodhill is an imposing ruin on a hill in the centre of the Golden Valley. It belonged once to Warwick the King-maker, and after his defeat and death at Barnet (1471) Snodhill was taken over by the Crown, with the patronage of the 'free chapel' there » [17]. From this Mr. Shore assumed that « doubtless there was a kind of choral foundation attached to the chapel, which became Royal in character after the change of ownership » [18]. There seems to be no confirmation of this idea, and it is more probable that, as in the cases of the Bayford rectory mentioned above and the corrody in Stanley monastery surrendered by Fayrfax in 1513 [19], this benefice at Snodhill was nothing more than one other means of helping to provide for the composer's salary and maintenance, especially as he resigned after holding it for only eleven months. It is commonly supposed to have been about this time that he became organist and 'informator chori' at St. Alban's, the premier abbey of England. Certainly he was there in 1502, but apparently he was at the same time still reckoned as a sort of emeritus member of the Chapel Royal, in the ranks of which he was present at the funerals of Queen Elizabeth of York in 1503 and of King Henry VII in 1509, the coronation of King Henry VIII, and the funeral of Prince Henry in 1511. In 1501 he proceeded Bachelor of Music in the University of Cambridge, and in 1504 Doctor of Music [20], for which degree his exercise was the five-part Mass *O quam glorifica*. In 1511 he was incorporated as Doctor of Music at Oxford. In 1514 he received a mark of royal favour in being appointed a « Poor Knight of Windsor », which was presumably a sinecure benefice ; he retained it until his death in 1521. But he was still active in 1520, for in that year he accompanied King Henry VIII to the Field of the Cloth of Gold. On New Year's Day annually from 1516 to 1519 inclusive he received a substantial payment for music-copying, possibly done at Windsor in retirement ; though there is no record of his residence there [21], and it is usually supposed that he held his post at St. Albans until his death on

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] Preface to *The Cathedral Series*, No. 13 (London, Novello, 1921).

[18] *Ibid.*

[19] Grattan Flood, *loc. cit.*

[20] It is not correct to speak of Fayrfax (as has been done) as the earliest known graduate of music in England. A previous instance is on record in 1463, when Henry Abyndon proceeded Bachelor, and Thomas Saintwix (or Saintriste) Doctor, both at Cambridge.

[21] Information from the late Lewis Stainton, Chapter Clerk of the Royal Free Chapel of St. George in Windsor Castle.

24th October 1521. He was buried in the chancel of the Abbey Church. A copy of the inscription on a brass which formerly adorned his tomb was made in 1643, and runs as follows :—

> « Pray for the soules of Master Robert Ffayrefax, Doctor of Music, and Agnes his wife and her children. Robert deceased the xxiiij day of October in the year of Our Lord God mdxxi, on whose soules Jesus have mercy. Amen » [22].

Such are the meagre particulars which it has been possible to assemble regarding the life and career of the leader of English music in the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII. That he was highly esteemed in his own day goes without saying : he was the leader of the singers at the Field of the Cloth of Gold : organist of the premier Abbey of England : Doctor in both her Universities : and a recipient of court favours, being paid unconscionably high sums for the copying, or perhaps composing also, of manuscript music for his royal patron during the last six years before his death. For example, on New Year's day in 1516 he was paid the sum of £ 13.6.8. for such work ; a year later, £ 20 for a book of Anthems ; a year later, £ 10 for a ' prick-song book ' ; and finally, on New Year's Day 1519, £ 10 ' for a balet-boke limned '. He was quite obviously a Court favourite ; and the picture that presents itself is that of a talented and distinguished figure who moved between London and St. Albans and perhaps Windsor, doyen of the craft of music-making, and accounted (in the words of Anthony à Wood so often quoted) ' the prime musitian of the nation '.

III.

Sources for the music of Fayrfax

To the musical sources of his period in England Fayrfax is the most abundant contributor, but this does not necessarily imply that he was a more prolific writer than his contemporaries. It may very well be the case that his music, being more widely esteemed, was more frequently copied ; and at any rate we know that he was the only one of the Henrician composers whose works went on being written into part-books for domestic use as chamber-music, vocal or instrumental or both, for something like a hundred years after his death. Moreover he was himself — at least towards the end of his life — apparently a sort of part-time professional copyist and as such would (unless endowed with a modesty no less rare

[22] Grattan Flood, *loc. cit.*, 385.

among musicians than among other mortals) take good care that his own compositions were preserved.

The twenty-seven manuscripts and two early printed sources listed below are not so extensive, as regards the total content of the Fayrfax music they include, as might be thought at first sight. A glance at the list will show at once that many of them are fragmentary or incomplete, two being no more than lists of music which has partly or wholly vanished, and others being contemporary or modern copies of music inscribed elsewhere, which add little or nothing to our knowledge.

The first group consists of the 'full choir-books', written in *cantus collateralis*, the parts being arranged separately across one opening, so that the book could lie on a lectern (*coucher* is a term sometimes used to denote a volume of this class), and five or six singers at least could sing from it at once. The arrangement of red and black script for the words in, for example, the Eton manuscript makes it probable that both chorus and semi-chorus sang from the same book, which means from ten to sixteen singers instead of from five to eight, which is the number of voices used in this manuscript by John Browne. The size of the pages, in which the Caius manuscript is the largest — no less than 28 $^1/_4$ by 19 inches — would make this quite easy without crowding, and there are many pictures of mediaeval date showing this actual method in operation. For a five-part work, the usual arrangement is to have the Triplex at the top left-hand with the Contratenor below him, the Medius at the foot of the left-hand page and continuing at the top of the right-hand page, the Tenor below the Medius, and the Bass below the Tenor.

Full Choir-books

1. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. liturg. a 9. Two folios (fortunately consecutive) of a choir book which now measure 20 $^3/_4$ by 16 $^1/_2$ inches, but were originally about 23 $^1/_2$ by 16 $^1/_2$ inches. Although this is almost the exact size of the Eton MS. 178, certain palaeographical indications make it practically sure that this is not one of the lost folios from that volume. It is dated about 1490, and contains the end part of the 'Regali' Magnificat of Fayrfax, together with the beginning of another setting of Magnificat which has not yet been identified.

2. Eton College 178. Dated about 1495. It contains no music for the Mass, and nearly all the settings of the Magnificat, including the 'Regali', are lost. The pages measure 23 $^1/_2$ by 17 inches. Six works of Fayrfax are listed in the contemporary catalogue of

contents written in the flyleaves, but only one of these — the *Salve regina* — remains complete.

3. Lambeth Palace, Archiepiscopal Library, 1. Written probably in the first decade of the sixteenth century. It contains five of the six Masses of Fayrfax, *Sponsus amat* alone being excepted, and both settings of Magnificat, with three motets. It is the most reliable source for the music of Fayrfax, both in date and contents. « In the case of the Lambeth MS, which contains the earliest copies of Fayrfax's Masses, there is reason to believe that the book was actually transcribed by the composer » [23]. The pages, which measure 26 $^1/_4$ by 18 $^1/_4$ inches, are often marked *corr'* or *corrig'* (*corrigitur*) at the foot, which give us a third reason for regarding it as a primary authority in the preparation of scores.

4. Cambridge, Caius College 667. This huge choir-book was, according to W. H. Frere, « written and given by Canon Edward Higgons to his church : he was probably prebendary of Carlton in Lincoln Cathedral, 1533 » [24]. It contains five of the Masses of Fayrfax (*Sponsus amat* being omitted, as it is in the three other collections at Lambeth, Peterhouse, and Bodley) and his ' Regali ' Magnificat, from which two pages are missing. It is numbered in pages, not in folios.

5. Edinburgh, National Library, 5.1.15. This is the celebrated ' Carver MS' or ' Scone Antiphonary '. It contains two motets by Fayrfax — *Aeternae laudis lilium* and *Ave Dei Patris filia*. Both are well documented elsewhere, but their appearance here, taken in conjunction with the British Museum MS Add. 4911 mentioned below, is of some interest as showing that the fame of Fayrfax had passed beyond the Tweed. Dated 1546.

6. The ' Fairfax Book ' (British Museum, Add. 5465) is not a ' full choir-book ', but as it is written in score it should be listed here before the separate part-books are dealt with (see above, p. 85).

Separate Part-books

7. British Museum, Harley 1709. A Medius part-book which contains six motets by Fayrfax, including *O bone Jesu*. This last is anonymous here, but is note-for-note identical with the Mass of that title, and establishes it as perhaps the earliest Parodia Mass in English records. It is said to have belonged to Henry VII's chapel [25].

[23] H. B. Collins, *John Taverner's Masses*, in *Music and Letters*, V 4 (October 1924), p. 323.

[24] *Bibliotheca Musico-Liturgica* (1932), II 126.

[25] A. Hughes-Hughes, *Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum* (1906), I 266.

8. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mus. Sch. e 376-380 (The MS e 381 is the Sextus part of this set, and contains no music by Fayrfax). These 'Forrest-Heyther' part-books, as they are sometimes called, are « on paper : written in two hands in or before 1530... In MS. 376 is '*William Forrest hunc librum jurae possidet cum quinque alijs eidem pertinentibus, 1530*' ». Thus far the official Bodleian catalogue. The date may stand, in so much as it concerns Fayrfax, though the last seven of the eighteen Masses in these books, which include one by Christopher Tye, are probably not written earlier than 1545 [26], and not later than 1550 [27].

9. Cambridge, Peterhouse, 40, 41, 31, 32. Part-books well written, but with no Tenor book : if this was ever in existence, no trace of it is known. This is most unfortunate, for if it could be found this set would rank without peer as the largest contemporary collection of Henrician church music. It contains four Masses by Fayrfax, both his settings of the Magnificat, and five long motets. The text of (for example) the Mass *O quam glorifica* has many points at which it needs correction from the Lambeth manuscript. This fact, coupled with the occasional omission of a syllable of text in the Peterhouse books, suggests that the change from Latin to English may have overtaken Cambridge before the music was actually used ; and on this supposition we can date them tentatively as c. 1540-45 [28].

10. Cambridge, University Library Dd xiii (Contratenor, not Tenor as often stated hitherto) ; and St. John's College 234 (Bass.). These two volumes, which are quoted in musicological works as UJ, are all that remain from an original set of five or six. They contained two Masses, a Magnificat, and three motets by Fayrfax, and are dated somewhere in the reign of Henry VIII.

11. British Museum, Add. 34191. A lone part-book, also from the time of Henry VIII, which contains the bass part of the 'Regali' Magnificat and the motet *Ave Dei Patris filia.*

12. Tenbury, St. Michael's College, 354-8. A complete set of Elizabethan part-books, containing extracts from three works of Fayrfax, among them the only known four-part sections of the Mass *Sponsus amat sponsam.*

13. Chelmsford, Essex Record Society, John Petre D/P 1. A bass part-book containing the Magnificat *O bone Jesu* and the motet *Ave Dei Patris filia.* Late xvith century [29].

14. Tenbury, St. Michael's College, 341-4. Part-books, lacking

[26] Henry Davey, *History of English Music*, 2nd ed. (1921), p. 89.

[27] *Tudor Church Music* (1923), I lix.

[28] See further Hughes, Catalogue of the Musical Manuscripts at Peterhouse, Cambridge (In press, 1952).

[29] For the Chelmsford manuscripts see further *Tudor Church Music, Appendix* (1948) by the late Dr. E. H. Fellowes, pp. 6, 7 : also No. 27 below.

the bass : of late Elizabethan date, the only work of Fayrfax being the Magnificat *O bone Jesu.*

15. Tenbury, St. Michael's College, 1464. A fine bass part-book dated about 1575, containing six motets by Fayrfax, of which *Gaude flore virginali* is not known elsewhere.

16. Oxford, Christ Church, 979-983. Part-books (lacking the tenor book) dated 1581, containing the motet *Ave Dei Patris filia.*

17. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mus. Sch. e. 1-5. Written in 1585 by J. Sadler. These part-books contain three motets by Fayrfax.

18. Chelmsford, Essex Record Society, John Petre D/P 2. A bass part-book, written before 1596, containing the whole of the Mass *Sponsus amat sponsam,* and our only authority for the lay-out of this Mass [30].

19. Tenbury, St. Michael's College, 1469-71. Treble, Medius, and Bass part-books, written about 1600. Two extracts from the Magnificat *O bone Jesu,* with the end section (*O gloriosissima*) of the motet *Ave Dei Patris filia,* head this collection.

20. British Museum, Add. 31922, contains many songs attributed to King Henry VIII, with other matter which includes the 'Paramese Tenor' and 'Somewhat musing' by Fayrfax. Dated somewhere in the reign of Henry VIII.

21. British Museum, formerly Royal College of Music 2035. Three part-books which contain three short extracts from the Magnificat *O bone Jesu.* These are of interest as showing the numerous repetitions which were customary at that period : the manuscript was written not long after 1611.

22. Cognate in date and contents with the foregoing is British Museum Add. 29246, which contains lute accompaniments to parts of the Magnificat *O bone Jesu,* the Mass *Sponsus amat,* and two motets.

23. British Museum, printed Book K 1 e 1 (1530). Bass part only, no other known to survive. This has always been cited hitherto as 'The Wynkyn de Worde Songbook', but it now appears that some other early printer must be given the credit for this fine monument of enterprise. One song and one instrumental piece are by Fayrfax. Facsimiles of the table of contents and of the bass of a song by Ashwell are given on pp. 4-8 of *Christmas Carols of the Sixteenth Century,* by E. B. Reed (Harvard University Press, 1932).

Other sources

24. British Museum, Add. 4911. A treatise on music entitled « The Art of Music collecit out of all Ancient Doctoris of Music »

[30] See footnote 29.

written by a Scotsman : according to H. G. Farmer [31] it was written about 1540, but it may well be a little later. It contains, as an example of a Fauxbourdon in four parts, *O lux beata Trinitas* by Fayrfax, as well as specimens by Josquin and others.

25. British Museum, Add. 5054 and 5059. Volumes transcribed by Henry Needler (d. 1760) and containing among many other motets and sacred pieces in MS. 5054 the four-part *Ave lumen gratiae*, copied from the Eton MS. 178, and in MS. 5059 the five-part *Ave Dei Patris filia*, here wrongly attributed to Robert Johnson. Of no particular evidential value except that it forms a link with the Burney-Hawkins period and shows how the composer's reputation never completely died out.

26. (Printed Book) John Stafford Smith (1750-1836), *A Collection of English Songs* (1779). See further in *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. The paucity of manuscript authority for the songs of Fayrfax suggest that this scarce but relatively modern authority may usefully be added.

27. Tenbury. St. Michael's College, 1474, is a copy made by the late Dr. E. H. Fellowes from Nos. 13 and 18 above ; it consists of the works by English composers contained in those two manuscripts, with the exception of such compositions of William Byrd as were printed during the composer's lifetime. See further *Tudor Church Music, Appendix* (1948), pp. 6-9.

Contemporary lists

There are two sixteenth-century lists of music in existence, from which all the music has disappeared.

28. Oxford, Merton College : fragment in the binding of Printed Book 62 f. 8. Presumably an Oxford binding which was contemporary with the printing of this volume — De Riminaldis, *Conciliorum*, Lyon 1558 — though renewed in modern times. The list contains eleven titles, among them « Maria plena, fairfax », « Lauda vivi, feirfax », and « Eterne laudis, feyrfax ».

29. Cambridge, King's College. « An inventorye of the pryke songys longynge to the Kyngys College in Cambryge », 1529. Printed in *The Ecclesiologist* (1863), XXIV, 102. The list includes « Exultavit ffarfax. Quia viderunt of the same », and in two different volumes « The masse Regale ».

[31] *A History of Music in Scotland* (1947), p. 106.

LIST OF THE WORKS OF ROBERT FAYRFAX

With the manuscripts wherein they are to be found.

(The numbers refer to the preceding list of Sources)

TITLE	Triplex	Medius	Contra-tenor	Tenor	Bass	Lost from Ms.
MASSES						
1. O bone Jesu	3, 4, 8, 9	3, 4, 8, 9	3, 4, 8, 9 10	3, 4, 8	3, 4, 8, 9 10	
2. Albanus	3, 4, 8, 9	3, 4, 8, 9	3, 4, 8, 9	3, 4, 8	3, 4, 8, 9	
3. O quam glorifica	3, 4, 9	3, 4, 9	3, 4, 9	3, 4	3, 4, 9	
4. Regali	3, 4, 8	3, 4, 8	3, 4, 8, 10	3, 4, 8	3, 4, 8, 10	29
5. Tecum principium	3, 4, 8, 9	3, 4, 8, 9	3, 4, 8, 9	3, 4, 8	3, 4, 8, 9	
6. Sponsus amat sponsam	—	12	12	12	12, 18	
CANTICLES						
7. Magnificat : O bone Jesu	3, 9, 12, 14, 19	3, 9, 12, 14, 19	3, 9, 12, 14	3, 12, 14	3, 9, 12, 13, 19	
8. Magnificat : Regali	1, 3, 4, 9	1, 3, 4, 9	1, 3, 4, 9, 10	1, 3, 4	1, 3, 4, 9, 10, 11	2
9. Nunc dimittis						29
MOTETS						
10. Aeternae laudis lilium	3, 5, 9	3, 5, 9	3, 5, 9, 10	3, 5	3, 5, 9, 10, 15	28
11. Ave cujus conceptio		7				2
12. Ave Dei Patris filia	3, 5, 9, 12, 16, 17, 19, 21, 25	3, 5, 7, 9, 12, 16, 17, 19, 21, 25	3, 5, 9, 12, 16, 17, 19, 21	3, 5, 12, 17, 25	3, 5, 9, 12, 13, 16, 17, 19, 21, 25	
13. Ave lumen gratiae	—	2, 25	2, 25	2, 25	2, 25	
14. Gaude flore virginali					15	
15. Lauda vivi Alpha et O	9	7, 9	9, 10		9, 10, 15	28
16. Maria plena virtute	9, 17	9, 17	9, 17	17	9, 15, 17	28
17. O bone Jesu		7				
18. O lux beata Trinitas	—	24	24	24	24	
19. O Maria Deo grata		9	9		9, 11, 15	
20. Quid cantemus innocentes						2
21. Salve regina	2, 3, 17	2, 3, 7, 17	2, 3, 17	2, 3, 17	2, 3, 17	
22. Stabat mater		7				2

Lute accompaniments are found in MS. British Museum Add. 29246 (No. 22 above) to 'Quid cantemus' and 'Stabat mater'.

SONGS (All in three parts except No. 29, which is in two).

23. Alas for lack of her presence	6, 26
24. Benedicite, what dremyd I	6
25. I love, loved, and loved would I be	6, 26
26. Most clere of colour	6, 26
27. My heartes lust	23
28. Somewhat musing	6, 20, 26 ; a few lines also at Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, *s.n.*
29. That was my woo	6
30. To compleyn me alas	6, 26

31. Welcome fortune — A fragment said to be at Ely Cathedral but not now to be traced.

INSTRUMENTAL PIECES (in three parts)

32. ' Paramese Tenor '	20
33. Ut re mi fa sol la	26

IV.

THE MASSES OF ROBERT FAYRFAX

A. *Their Order.*

In entering upon a detailed consideration of the works of Fayrfax it is natural to start with the Masses. Not only do they belong to what is the most important and the most characteristic of the forms used by all writers of his period ; but we have also the advantage of six examples to place side by side, thus enabling us to essay the task of discriminating between the composer's earlier and later styles. Our first business will therefore be to place the Masses in their chronological order. To do this with absolute certainty is hardly possible, but we can claim a relatively high degree of probability for the arrangement here demonstrated. There are two external and two internal features to guide us ; internally, the use of « motto beginnings » and of a continuous tenor canto fermo ; and externally, the facts that the Mass *O quam glorifica* can be dated at not later than 1504, and that the Mass *Sponsus amat* does not occur in any one of the four manuscripts which seem to represent more or less complete collections of his Mass music.

Now the use of motto beginnings is part of the technique of the Dunstable school, about 1450 ; while the use of a continuous liturgical canto fermo is in the same way distinctive of composers from Nicholas Ludford, a contemporary of Fayrfax whose work is in general slightly more developed and therefore presumably a little later, down to John Taverner (c. 1490-1545). We can therefore set down at once a group of four out of the six Masses which have motto beginnings — *O bone Jesu, Albanus, O quam glorifica,* and *Regali* — setting them in that order because there is hardly any trace of a theme in the first, while the other three use a theme. In the case of *Albanus* this is a short motif treated with elaboration (for details see below, p. 103) — a method not used by the composer elsewhere and presumably abandoned : while *O quam glorifica* and *Regali* are built upon a liturgical subject which is followed with scrupulous accuracy, a method used also in the other two Masses.

These two, which we may style later in time — though no wide gap is intended to be suggested by this distinction — are *Tecum principium* and *Sponsus amat,* the latter being (as we have already mentioned) presumably later than the compilation of the four collections of Masses (Nos. 3, 4, 8, and 9 above). This omission, it should be said, is not strong evidence, for three of the collections were written after the death of Fayrfax in 1521, Nos. 4 and 9 almost certainly, and No. 8 probably : but the omission is congruous and supports the hypothesis of the late date of *Sponsus amat.* On the other hand, the omission might be more easily explained by saying that a four-part Mass would naturally be omitted from these collections of five-part music.

There seems to be nothing to be learned by studying the order in which the Masses occur in the four collections. We might observe, however, that in all but one (Caius, No. 4) *Albanus* is followed immediately by *O bone Jesu,* which fact (were there any greater degree of consistency in their MS. order) might induce us to reverse their position. We can then set them out in tabular form, and in tentative order, as follows :—

Mass	Suggested order of date	Position in the MSS			
		3	*4*	*8*	*9*
O bone Jesu	1	4	1	3	4
Albanus	2	3	5	2	3
O quam glorifica	3	2	3	–	1
Regali	4	5	2	1	–
Tecum principium	5	1	4	4	2
Sponsus amat	6	–	–	–	–

In addition to the two external indications mentioned, there is another point well worth notice, namely the use of imitation. The growth of this form is difficult to specify with mathematical accuracy, but it can be observed most frequently in *Regali* and *Tecum principium*, less often in *Albanus*, and still less in *O bone Jesu* and *O quam glorifica*. We have only four short sections of *Sponsus amat* from which to form an opinion, but they seem to indicate about the same amount of imitation as in *Tecum principium*.

Furthermore there is the unique position of *O bone Jesu* as a Parodia mass, which provides an extra reason for setting it at the head of the list. The experiment, like that of *Albanus* in the elaborate manipulation of a thematic subject, would seem to have been given up ; and we may perhaps conclude that with his Doctor's exercise, *O quam glorifica*, the master settled down to the practice of writing upon strict tenor themes of liturgical origin.

B. *The Titles and their connection.*

Three of the Masses of Fayrfax bear titles which occur also in his motets and his settings of Magnificat — *O bone Jesu, Albanus*, and *Regali*. At first sight this might seem to indicate a thematic connection, as in the case of an Anglican « Morning and Evening Service », a form found within forty years of the death of Fayrfax : and the idea is encouraged by the entries in the King's College list (No. 29 above) « Exultavit ffarfax. Quia viderunt of the same », together with three other pairs of these Canticles by other composers. Examination of the music reveals, however, no thematic or other connection, except for the one case of Parodia mentioned below.

(i) *O bone Jesu.*

O bone Jesu is a non-liturgical devotional text which is used, in varying forms, by the polyphonists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. One of the best-known of these settings is that by Robert Carver, Canon of Scone, for nineteen voices, preserved at Edinburgh [32]. As the text is not liturgical it has no proper plainsong, nor any customary canto fermo. In Fayrfax's Mass the only theme discernible is the short phrase

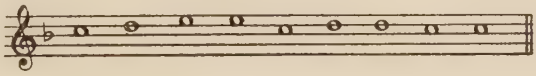
[32] Published (the score is not entirely accurate) by J. A. Fuller Maitland (London, The Year Book Press, 1926).

which is used in *stretto* in the Amen of the Gloria and is reflected at the end of the other movements.

One of the composer's settings of the Magnificat also bears the title *O bone Jesu* in the bass part-book (No. 13 above) at Chelmsford, though this is not found elsewhere. Between the music of this Mass and Magnificat the only relation that can be discerned is that they are both written in a mode which is virtually indistinguishable from the modern key of F major. On the other hand the medius part of the motet *O bone Jesu* in the British Museum MS. Harley 1709, at f. 53 (there anonymous) turns out to be note-for-note identical with the medius part of the Mass by Fayrfax, which is thus marked out as an early example — perhaps the earliest in England — of the Parodia form. The earliest example of the 'Parody-mass' on the Continent is usually reckoned to be the *Fors seullement* of Okeghem (c. 1430-1495), and there are many later instances in the works of Palestrina, Lassus, and other composers of the sixteenth century. The connection between the Magnificat title *O bone Jesu* given at Chelmsford alone and the Mass of that name might be explained as due to an accidental and erroneous entry by the copyist of the Chelmsford manuscript, were it not that similar identities of title occur also in the case of two other Masses, *Albanus* and *Regali*.

(ii) *Albanus*.

The Mass *Albanus* is so named in all the manuscripts. It is written on the tenor theme



which is the opening phrase of the fifth line of *Alloquio dulcis*, a six-lined stanza used as the antiphon for the second Nocturn in the metrical office of St. Alban. The only copy of this office which it has been possible to trace is that found in the Odensee Breviary printed at Lübeck in 1497, without music, but the identification is ensured by the use made of the entire fifth line — *Albanus Domini laudans mirabile nomen* — by John Dunstable as the tenor of his motet *Albanus Domini / Quoque ferendus / Albanus*; which is found in the Modena MS. Estense lat. 471, and is printed in the *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich* Vol. XL, p. 32.

The motet *O Maria Deo grata* is also named *Albanus* in some manuscripts. The triplex and tenor of this motet are missing from the Peterhouse part-books, though two other copies of the bass are

extant (British Museum, Add. 34191, and Tenbury 1464. Towards the end of this bass part occurs the phrase

written, in clear contradistinction to the rest of the white open notation, in full black notes. They have a well-marked plainsong appearance, but in fact they turn out to be a passage in *hemiola*, unique in this motet so far as we have it. Unfortunately the loss of two out of the five parts makes it impossible to compare this passage closely with the Mass music, but in the only 'straightforward' entry of the subject in the bass of the Mass, which occurs towards the end of the third Agnus Dei, we find that melodic material is borrowed by the contratenor voice from the medius of the motet (or vice versa, of course) for the space of four measures. Otherwise the rest of the music seems to bear no relation to the *Albanus* Mass. No trace of an *Albanus* Magnificat has yet been found, if one such ever existed, which is highly doubtful.

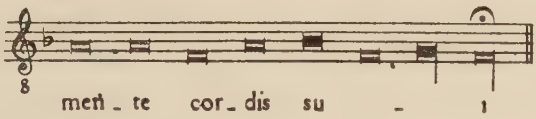
(iii) *Regali.*

The same puzzling series of titles occurs in the case of *Regali*. There is a Mass and a Magnificat under this name, while the motet *Gaude flore virginali* (bass part only known, in Tenbury MS. 1464, at f. 22) is also entitled at the end *Regali*. Musical connection is again lacking.

The theme of this Mass is the melody of the antiphon *Regali ex progenie* [33], and it is stated throughout with complete integrity. The Magnificat displays a definite recurrence of an « ending » to the sixth Gregorian psalm-tone, which happens to be the same mode as that of the antiphon. But the antiphon belongs to the third psalm of Lauds or Vespers on the feast of the Nativity of Our Lady (8th September), and it would not have been used for the Magnificat, unless pre-Tridentine churchmen were even more contemptuous of the rubrics than we have been led to believe. This ending occurs

[33] *Antiphonale Sarisburiense* (Facsimile edition by the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, pl. 526 : *Ant. Vat.* 705 : *Lib. Usualis* (1923) 1340. The Magnificat *Regali* is published by Stainer and Bell, London (1949).

three times (out of a possible six, but the other three are not full five-part choruses) in the tenor voice, and in long notes : it runs



This ending is not to be found in any of the best-known *tonalia*, or lists of endings for the eight tones. The phrase is slightly reminiscent of the *Regali ex progenie* melody, but the distinctive drop from B flat to F is lacking in that antiphon.

Gaude flore virginali is also written in the sixth mode, which approximates in all these three compositions to the modern scale of F major. At the end (Tenbury 1464, No. 15 above), is written « finis regali by docter fayrfax ».

Although the theme of the Mass is undoubtedly the antiphon *Regali ex progenie*, the title of Mass or Magnificat is spelt Regale, Regali, or Regaly in the manuscripts quite indifferently. The first-named spelling is rather more frequent than the others ; and in no case are the words *ex progenie* found.

In the absence of any real musical relationship (except in the case of the *O bone Jesu* Parodia mentioned above, and the slight evidence of borrowing above the *Albanus* theme) between the members of these three sets of Mass, Magnificat, and motet, some other solution must be sought : and the Regali ' suite ' (for want of a better word) provides at least a tentative suggestion, as under :—

Now in the King's College list, as we have said above, there occur the entries ' *Exultavit* and *Quia viderunt* ' (i.e., a Magnificat and Nunc dimittis) by Fayrfax, and also the Mass *Regale*, in two separate books or series of books. No other Mass under this title is known, and there can be little doubt that the reference in both cases is to the Mass by Fayrfax; as the King's College list does not name its composers with any degree of consistency. The official Latin title of King's College is *Collegium Regale*, and there is a possibility that this ' suite ' may have been written for the College and dedicated to it, and that in the same manner *Albanus* may have been composed for St. Alban's Abbey. There is no record of Fayrfax ever having been a member of King's College, though a singing-man by name Thomas Fayrfax was on the College staff in 1481-2. But as a musical graduate of Cambridge Robert's name must have been borne on the books of one college or another.

No particular weight is claimed as attaching to this interpretation of the ' suite ' problem which is set up by the titles of *O bone Jesu*, *Albanus*, and *Regali* : it is merely thrown out as a hypothesis in the absence of any other apparent solution.

C. *Treatment of the Text.*

The six Masses of Fayrfax omit, in common with practically all the other English examples of the period, the Kyrie eleison. It has been supposed that the reason for this omission was the prevalent English custom of singing the Kyrie with tropes to the plainchant melody, that is to say with an intercalated text of which one syllable was written under each single note of the melismatic plainchant [34].

The Credo follows the custom — also distinctively English — of omitting the words from *Et in Spiritum Sanctum* down to *et vitam venturi saeculi*, or some point thereabouts. The actual details are :—

From *Et in Spiritum* to *peccatorum* – Albanus
to *mortuorum* – O quam glorifica
Regali
Sponsus amat
to *venturi saeculi* – O bone Jesu
Tecum principium.

The reasons for this practice, as reprehensible to our notions as it was presumably to the Fathers of the Council of Trent, are not certainly known. But a count of the measures in the various Masses indicates a sort of coincidence in the length of each item, which is suggestive :—

	Gloria	*Credo*	*Sanctus*	*Agnus*
O bone Jesu	183	197	234	179
Albanus	191	237	207	185
O quam glorifica	246	251	266	228
Regali	195	194	219	160
Tecum principium	225 [35]	259	233	215
Sponsus amat	174	220	157	179

Three measures of imperfect time are counted as two measures of perfect time, and the results are given in figures of perfect time. Those for *Sponsus amat* will be subject to possible correction if the missing portions of the upper voices are found : they are taken from the complete bass part at Chelmsford, and include several blocks of continuous rests ; and every transcriber of this period knows how unreliable are the counts in these blocks.

From this table we may suppose, though with no real certainty, that the composer wrote his Gloria as he thought fit, and then went

[34] See H. B. Collins, *Missa O quam suavis* (Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, 1929), p. viii.

[35] For Bodley and Peterhouse, the figure here is 233.

on with the Credo until he had covered a similar space in time (and on parchment), when he concluded with Amen. In the Sanctus and Agnus, which are shorter texts, he seems to have worked in the opposite direction, treating the words with protracted melismas until the length of the 'number' approximated roughly to that of Gloria and Credo.

The practice of Fayrfax differs in no way from that of the other English composers of the period [36]. Ludford alone seems to recognize the importance of maintaining the textual integrity of the Credo.

In the Gloria of *O quam glorifica* and *Regali* the clauses *Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine, Deum verum de Deo vero,* are not set. No similar omission has been noted in any other Mass of the period. It may perhaps be due to an accidental omission in the case of *O quam glorifica,* followed unintentionally in *Regali* — if we are correct in assuming these two Masses to have been written in that order.

V.

The Albanus Theme

The Albanus Mass is the only composition of Fayrfax in which he subjects his theme to a series of mutations. The exact process is as follows :—

Gloria

1. Gratias agimus	Direct.
2. Domine Deus	In reversion.
3-4. Qui sedes	Direct, followed by reversion.
5. Cum Sancto	Direct.

Credo

6-8. Et ex Patre	Three inverted statements, falling by step from the seat.
9-11. Et iterum	Three inverted, reversed, and isorhythmic statements, starting a minor third below the seat and rising by step.
12. Et vitam	Inverted and raised a fourth.

[36] See H. B. Collins, *op. cit.*, p. xxxiii.

Sanctus

13-15. Dominus Deus	Three isorhythmic statements, falling by step from the seat.
16-18. Hosanna I	Three reversed and isorhythmic statements, starting a minor third below the seat and rising by step.
19-21. Hosanna II	Three inverted, reversed, and isorhythmic statements, falling by step from the seat.

Agnus Dei

22-24. Miserere I	Three reversed isorhythmic statements, rising by step from the seat.
25-27. Miserere II	Three inverted, reversed, and isorhythmic statements, starting a major third above the seat, and falling by step.
28-30. Qui tollis III	Three inverted isorhythmic statements, falling by step from the seat.
31-35. Dona nobis	Five direct statements : (i) Tenor, (ii) Contratenor, raised a fourth, (iii) Medius, raised an octave, (iv) Triplex, raised a twelfth, and (v) Bass, at the fifth below : and followed at once by
36-40. Pacem	Five direct consecutive statements, falling by step from the seat to the final cadence of the Mass.

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THE EDITORIAL METHODS OF VENEGAS DE HENESTROSA

JOHN WARD

The earliest known collection of 16th century Spanish keyboard music is the *Libro de Cifra Nueva para tecla, harpa y vihuela*, edited by Luys Venegas de Henestrosa and printed in Alcalá de Henares, 1557. Since Fétis first described this work in 1878 it has been recognized as an important source, but its excessive rarity has restricted knowledge of its contents to a few Spanish scholars. Recently Higinio Anglés published, in a volume of the *Monumentos de la Música Española* [1], a complete transcription of the unique Madrid exemplar and this welcome event makes possible the long needed critical study of a large and important corpus of mid-century instrumental music. The present essay is no such study, but rather its prolegomenon.

The title of Venegas' work, which can be translated 'A Book of Newly-Devised Tablature for keyboard, harp and six-course guitar', implicitly indicates Venegas' role in its composition, namely that of editor. Not only the title and the actual contents of the book imply this, but the prefatory writings explicitly state that Venegas has collected « many works by diverse composers » and placed them in the *cifra nueva*. Nowhere does Venegas suggest that he composed any of the pieces, though he is far from modest in advertising his book as the first printed in what is now called Spanish « organ tablature ».

Nor is the *cifra nueva* an invention of the author. Two years before the appearance of Venegas' *Libro*, Juan Bermudo described this and two other forms of keyboard tablature in his *Declaración de Instrumentos Musicales* (Ossuna, 1555) [2]. In castigating organists who hoard their musical works as « trade secrets », Bermudo scolds « Those who sell or give away ciphers (but) do not communicate the best of their known music ». Apparently the use of keyboard tablature was known if not actually wide-spread in mid-century

[1] Vol. II, *La música en la Corte de Carlos V*, Barcelona 1944.

[2] Libro IV, chapters 41-42. The quotation given above is found in the *Prólogo para el lector*.

Spain and this reduces Venegas' achievement to the modest one of having been the first to commercially exploit the tablature in print, which is in fact all that he claims.

It is not in this capacity but in the more significant one of editor that Venegas interests the historian, for a generation of Spanish instrumentalists is represented in his anthology, many of them nowhere else To understand the condition in which the music has reached us, it is important to know something of his editorial methods.

In judging an early print the historian is sometimes able to compare it with manuscript copies or correlate with other editions ; often this is not possible, the print preserving *unica* If the standards of an individual printer are known from study of several works emenating from his press, the single volume can be judged in relation to the others. This has been possible in the case of Petrucci and other Italian craftsmen. But the conditions attendant on the printing of music in 16th century Spain disallow this since no Spanish printer devoted his labors exclusively to music, not even to the extent of a side-line.

Excluding treatises on music and books of plainchant, I know of only 17 volumes of practical music printed in Spain during the 16th century [3]. It is possible that works have been overlooked in this census and probable that others have been lost, though in both cases the number is surely small. Fourteen printers, disposed in eight cities as distant from each other as Seville, Valladolid, Barcelona, and Madrid, produced the 17 volumes. The printer of Venegas' work, Joan de Brocar, represented by 30 items in the library of the Hispanic Society of America, including many volumes of law, religious treatises, translations of classical and Italian authors, produced but this one example of practical music.

The want of printers commercially interested in music placed the composer or, in Venegas' case, the editor in a difficult position ; perforce he became publisher, assuming all the editorial and financial responsibilities in addition to those connected with producing his original manuscript. This state of affairs is made abundantly clear by the contract for printing Antonio de Cabezón's *Obras de Música*, drawn up between the son, Hernando de Cabezón, and the Madrid printer Francisco Sanchez, and fortunately preserved among the papers of the notary who witnessed the signatures [4]. Though 21

[3] This census is based on the holdings of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid ; Biblioteca Central, Barcelona ; the British Museum ; the library of the Hispanic Society of America, New York ; the Library of Congress ; in addition, I have used available information on other Spanish and Portuguese collections and the catalogue of João IV's library which was destroyed in the famous Lisbon earthquake.

[4] Printed by Perez Pastor, « Escrituras de concierto para imprimir libros », in *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* I (1897), 363-71, and reprinted in part by Felipe Pedrell, *Hispaniae Schola Musica Sacra*, vol. VIII, p. xvi.

years intervened between the printing of Venegas' and Cabezón's tablatures, the contract for the latter must, in part at least, describe the conditions under which Venegas' work was produced.

According to this agreement, Sanchez, using Venegas' tablature as a model but enlarging the type face, was to cast all matrices and type for the book. Since Sanchez agreed not to use the actual type made for Venegas' work, the font for the *Libro de Cifra Nueva* must still have been available to an interested buyer. The edition of Cabezón's works was to consist of 1225 copies, 25 on *marquilla*, the rest on Genoese paper, printed with good black ink [5]. Work was to start two months after the date of agreement (9 May, 1576) and continue without interruption until finished. The volume was to « be printed according to the page and written line of the original, without transferring or moving anything from one page to another ». For his part, Cabezón agreed to pay Sanchez for the cost of the paper plus 5600 *reales*. Translated into *maravedis*, this sum is 190,400 plus, which can be compared with Antonio de Cabezón's annual salary, at least that part recorded in court account books, of 110,000 *mrs*. In these terms the printing cost the son about twice his father's salary for one year. One item in the contract documents the ephemeral character of music printing in Spain : the printer was to sell Cabezón all matrices, type and other paraphernalia used to produce the book, the publisher-author thus taking from the printer all temptation to issue unauthorized copies [6].

[5] For comparable information see Margaret Dowling, « The Printing of John Dowland's *Second Booke of Songs or Ayres* », printed in *The Library*, Fourth Series, XII (1932), 365-80. Dowland's book, which appeared in 1600, was published by George Eastland, who had purchased the original manuscript for 20 pounds. The entire cost of the edition of 1000 copies plus an extra 25, including payment for Dowland's manuscript and the licensing fees, was £ 47 12 s. The book was sold for 4 s 6 p, which, in the printer's opinion, was high ; normally such a music book fetched about 2 s.

These prices can be compared with that of the Cabezón tablature. In 1586, ten years after it was printed, three copies of the *Obras de Música* were listed in the register of Diego de Mendoza, an importer of books in the New World ; one cost the importer 14 *reales* (476 *mrs.*), the other two 16 *reales* (544 *mrs.*) each. (Cf. Irving Leonard, *Romances of Chivalry in the Spanish Indies*, Univ. of California 1933, pp. 53, 55).

The differences between printing cost and selling price naturally depend on conditions of music publishing : in England (also in Italy and France) 16th century music presses were commercial. Of course, comparison between selling prices of Cabezón's and Dowland's books is unfair ; printing costs may have been greater in England at the time Cabezón's work appeared. However, the cost to the public was probably never as high in Italy as it was in Spain, at least *ca.* 1512 and *ca.* 1591 ; in the former year Hernando de Colón paid 76 *quatrines* (= 304 *mrs.*) for the first lute tablature printed by Petrucci, and in the latter year Vincenti advertised copies of Francesco da Milano's « lib. Primo, & Secondo » for one *lira*. But again, in fairness to the Spaniards, it must be noted that Cabezón's tablature contains 201 folios, whereas Petrucci's *Libro Primo* has only 56 and Milano's two books combined only 45.

[6] Thanks to a law suit concerning unauthorized copies, the details cited earlier

How different the conditions were in Italy can be judged by Vincenzo Galilei's complaint of the Venetian printers who kept his manuscript for months and put him off with empty promises to please an envious person or would-be plagiarist [7]. But who pays the bill can call the tune.

In the light of Spanish music printing, the editorial methods of Venegas are of considerable importance since these alone are responsible for the texts preserved in his work. Fortunately we are able to study them in considerable detail since the *Libro de Cifra Nueva* contains a number of pieces drawn from other printed sources and comparison affords a basis on which the texts of the *unica* may be appraised, at least indirectly. Anglés, when compiling the critical notes to his edition, was not aware of Venegas' borrowings and conjectured that some of the anonymous works were by the editor [8]. Emilio Pujol, in his editions of the Narvaez [9] and Mudarra [10] vihuela tablatures, called attention to certain of the concordances to be noted below, but failed to discover the extraordinary manner in which Venegas edited the vihuelists' pieces. His failure to recognize all of the music borrowed from the vihuelists was in large measure due to the unorthodox character of the editorial changes.

With a single exception, the anonymous pieces « de vihuela » — 19 fantasia and 2 *fabordones* — were drawn by Venegas from vihuela tablatures : five from Narváez's *Delfin de música* (Valladolid, 1538), 17 from Alonso Mudarra's *Tres libros de música* (Seville, 1546), and one from Enriquez de Valderrábano's *Libro de música de vihuela* (Valladolid, 1547). The exception is a fantasia by Francesco da Milano, first printed in his *Terzo Libro* (Venice, 1547).

The editor of an anthology for keyboard and other instruments can approach his job in one of two ways : he may transfer the music from one type of tablature to another, thus preserving inviolate the composer's original ; or he may alter the music to fit a new medium, transforming into keyboard music pieces written for lute and guitar. No rationale seems to have guided Venegas : his editorial methods range from the respectable to the irresponsible.

In a few instances he faithfully reproduced the original (Nos. 58, 71, 73) [11], or added a few ornaments (No. 59) ; in others he omitted

concerning the printing of Dowland's second book are preserved in the court records.

[7] See the dedication to his *Dialogo... Della Musica Antico et Della Moderna*, reprinted in *Istituzioni e Monumenti dell'Arte Musicale Italiana*, vol. IV (Milan 1934), p. lxxxvii.

[8] *Op. cit.*, 172.

[9] *Monumentos de la Música Española*, vol. III (Barcelona 1945), 33.

[10] *Monumentos de la Música Española*, vol. VII (Barcelona 1949), 71 ff.

[11] The numbers in parentheses refer to the lists printed at the end of this article.

a measure of the original or compressed two measures into one (Nos. 66, 69). His « Fabordón I de Vihuela » (No. 74) is an exact copy of the vihuela accompaniment of Mudarra's first *psalmo*, but lacks the original voice-part, which is printed separately in mensural notation in the source.

Serious tampering appears in fantasias where final sections have been lopped off. Francesco da Milano's fantasia (No. 27) is presented minus the last 24 measures, and a fantasia by Mudarra (No. 64) is robbed of its last 12 measures. No substitution is made for the missing sections ; the fantasias simply end prematurely.

Another example of editorial license is the excision of brief sections from the borrowed work and the insertion of new, presumably original music (Nos. 61, 63, 67, 75). The first 46 measures of Venegas' ninth « Fantasia de Vihuela » reproduce, almost literally, the first 48 of a fantasia by Valderrábano ; the next three measures contain but one of the original ; then 13 are quoted, followed by five which paraphrase Valderrábano's. The changes, too modest to be called parody, have the air of « improvements », though it is possible that Venegas used a manuscript copy which included the variants. However, this is questionable, particularly in view of the next editorial procedure, which might best be called « scissors and paste ».

Six of the fantasias (Nos. 57, 60, 65, 68, 70, 72) in Venegas' *Libro* were created by merging two different pieces by the same composer, a fact not discovered by Pujol. The simplest examples each contain a fantasia and a *tiento* by Mudarra. In their original state each *tiento* served as a short intonation, followed by a fantasia in the same mode. Venegas has reversed the order, placing the fantasia, or a goodly portion of it, first and then, without ceremony, attached the prefatory *tiento* as a final section. It must be admitted that the informal texture of instrumental polyphony and the improvisational character of many fantasias, particularly those of the period 1530-40, allow this grafting of fantasia and *tiento* without great violence to the music.

Nor is this the only type of pastiche found among the anonymous vihuela pieces. In two fantasias (Nos. 56, 62) Venegas brought together bits by Narváez and Mudarra. The first of these bastard pieces begins with a free rendering, for 78 measures, of a fantasia by Narváez. Venegas begins by reproducing 29 measures almost verbatim ; then, after omitting five measures of the original, he proceeds with a second quotation of five measures. Hereafter the treatment, in which bits of Narváez's music are worked into a new text, is similar to parody technique. In measure 78 reference to Narváez's music stops and a part of a fantasia by Mudarra is inserted. The quotation is compounded of segments torn from the beginning, the middle and end of Mudarra's piece and mixed in a literal hodge-

podge. The only element shared by the two originals is their tonality, yet such is the character of the two musics (or our sensitivity to it) that the marriage is effected without shock. Of course, the patchwork fantasia is not a masterpiece ; Venegas does not improve on the borrowed works, both of which are first rate.

The free rendering of borrowed material is also found in a keyboard setting of the plainchant *Ave, maris stella*, which Venegas attributes to Antonio (No. 85). The original is printed in the *Obras de Música* of Antonio de Cabezón. Anglés [12] considers the differences between the two versions the result of « retouching » by the composer ; in view of Venegas' treatment of several vihuela fantasias, it seems likely that he is again responsible for the alterations which in several instances amount to a free parody of Cabezón's original.

One last example of Venegas' editorial tampering illustrates the need for caution in assaying the *Libro de Cifra Nueva*. Among the *tientos* for *tecla* are two by Julio de Modena, that is Giulio Segni, the celebrated mid-century Italian organist. Both of these *tientos* appear in a collection of *ricercari* published in Venice, 1540, of which only the bass part-book has been preserved. A comparison of the bass parts of Venegas' *tientos* with those of the *ricercari* shows that in one (No. 45) Venegas preserved the original bass without significant change or addition, while in the other (No 46) he altered the opening of the *ricercar*, omitted a five-measure phrase from the middle, and made an additional though brief cut near the end. This tampering is unfortunate since Segni's *ricercar* is nowhere preserved complete [13].

If Venegas had restricted his emendations to pieces taken from lute and vihuela tablatures, the changes might be explained in terms of idiom or media ; that Venegas also parodied a work by Antonio de Cabezón and altered another by Giulio de Segni, both originally intended for keyboard, indicates that he was without bias. And this, alas, completely undermines the scholar's faith in the texts

[12] *Op. cit.*, 175.

[13] In addition to the two printed by Venegas, another *ricercar* by Segni was discovered in a manuscript keybord miscellany found in Piacenza (reprinted in *I Classici Musicali Italiani* (Milan 1941), vol. I, 74), and a Mass for double choir was discovered in the Cathedral library, Modena, by Walter Rubsamen (cf. *Notes* VI [1949], 562). An entry in Doni's *La Libraria* (Venice 1557), 159, reads : « Intabolatura da organi, & da leuto, d'Anton da Bologna, di Giulio da Modena, di Francesco da Milano, di Iaches Buus, piu di deici volumi & la Continua ». This « di Giulio da Modena » has been interpreted as a reference to a lost work by Segni, but more likely it refers to : « Intabolatura de Lautto Libro Settimo. Recercari novi del Divino M. Francesco da Milano... Aggiontovi Alcuni [12] Altri Recercari di Julio da Modena intabulati & acomodati per sonar sopra il Lautto da M. Jo. Maria da Crema... » published in Venice by Scotto, 1548. The unique exemplar of this work is in the British Museum. Neither of the *tientos* by Segni which Venegas borrowed appears in the Venetian print.

preserved in the *Libro de Cifra Nueva* : which pieces are untouched by Venegas, which recast in part, and which are composites? Most of the music included in the anthology exists in no other source ; without such controls the *unica* must be treated circumspectly.

Why Venegas tampered with his borrowed material is a question not easily answered. No doubt in some instances he was bringing up to date music published fifteen or twenty years earlier, and in others he was translating music from one idiom into another. But this does not explain those pieces in which sections are parodied or two different pieces combined. In these Venegas was probably influenced by the Spanish love of recasting ideas already expressed. No one can study the 16th century literature for vihuela and *tecla* without discovering the central role played by the *glosa*. It is more than an art of overlay, the addition of ornament, though this too plays its part ; the Spaniards developed out of the barren (*glosa* a variety of forms which made of borrowing a vital form-principle. The subject is too involved to find place here. However, the editor of the *Libro de Cifra Nueva*, though crediting himself with none of the music included, may have taken frequent opportunity to recreate in his own fashion sections of borrowed music, substituting these for the original. The idea shocks modern sensibilities, and may have outraged some 16th century musicians, even though such license was a renaissance commonplace. For the music historian revelation of Venegas' curious procedures somewhat tarnishes the treasure contained in his anthology.

* * *

The following is a list of concordances for the vihuela pieces in Venegas' tablature. Whenever possible, reference is made to the critical editions of the Venegas, Narváez, and Mudarra tablatures printed in the *Monumentos de la Música Española* series, published by the Instituto Español de Musicología, Barcelona, under the general editorship of Higinio Anglés [14]. The No. of the piece and the Page

[14] **AM** *Alonso Mudarra. Tres libros de música en cifra para vihuela* (Sevilla 1546). Ed. by Emilio Pujol, in *Monumentos de la Música Española*, vol. VII, Barcelona 1949.

DP *Libro de Música de Vihuela, agora nuevamente compuesto por Diego Pisador* (Salamanca 1552). [A copy is in the Sibley Music Library, Rochester].

EV *Libro de música de vihuela, intitulado Silva de sirenas... Compuesto por Enriquez de Valderrabano* (Valladolid 1547). [A copy is in the library of the Hispanic Society of America, New York].

FM *Intabolatura de Lauto di M. Francesco Milanese et M. Perino Fiorentino... Libro Terzo* (Venice 1547). [A copy is in the Library of Congress].

FP Felipe Pedrell. *Hispaniae Schola Musica Sacra*, 8 vols. (Leipzig 1894-98). A partial edition of Cabezón's *Obras* appears in vols. III, IV, VII, VIII. [A copy of the original edition is in the Library of Congress].

LN *Luys de Narváez. Los seys libros del Delphin de música* (Valladolid 1538).

references are to **VH**. Under Source I have cited the appropriate pages in Pujol's editions and given the folio numbers when no reprint is available.

No.	*Page.*	*Title.*	*Source.*
27	20-22	Tiento I.	**FM**, fol. c.
56	78-80	Fantasia II.	**LN**, 1-3 AM, 31-33.
57	81	Fantasia III.	**AM**, 37-38 ; 37.
58	82	Fantasia IV.	**AM**, 39-40.
59	83-84	Fantasia V.	**AM**, 41-42.
60	85	Fantasia VI.	**AM**, 43-44 ; 40.
61	86-87	Fantasia VII.	**AM**, 45-46.
62	87-88	Fantasia VIII.	**LN**, 8-10 ; AM, 45.
63	89-90	Fantasia IX.	**EV**, fol. 18v.
64	91-92	Fantasia X.	**AM**, 50-51.
65	92-93	Fantasia XI	**AM**, 49 ; 48.
66	94-95	Fantasia XII.	**LN**, 10-11.
67	95-97	Fantasia XIII.	**LN**, 12-14.
68	98-99	Fantasia XIV.	**AM**, 52-53 ; 52.
69	100-102	Fantasia XV.	**LN**, 14-16.
70	103-104	Fantasia XVI.	**AM**, 57-58 ; 56.
71	105-106	Fantasia XVII.	**AM**, 64-65.
72	106-108	Fantasia XVIII.	**AM**, 62-63 ; 61.
73	109	Fantasia XIX.	**AM**, 66.
74	110	Fabordón I.	**AM**, 132.
75	110	Fabordón II.	**DP**, fol. 16v.

Additional concordances and identifications include :

No.	*Page.*	*Title.*	*Source.*
5	7-8	Tres III. « Sobre el canto llano de la Alta ».	Cf. Willi Apel, *Notes*, V (1947), 58-59, where the *canto llano* is identified as the basse dance tenor « Il re di Spagna » ; also Manfred Bukofzer, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (New York, 1950), 209, n. 54, and Otto Gombosi's review of Bukofzer's book, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, IV (1951), 144.

Ed. by Emilio Pujol, in *Monumentos de la Música Española*, vol. III, Barcelona 1945. [A copy of the original edition is in the Library of Congress].

MN *Musica Nova Accomodata per Cantar et Sonar sopra organi... In Venetia Al Segno Del Pozzo*, 1540. [The *bassus* part-book is in the Liceo Musicale, Bologna].

VH Luys Venegas de Henestrosa. *Libro de Cifra Nueva para tecla, harpa y vihuela* (Alcalá de Henares 1557). Ed. by Higinio Anglés, in *Monumentos de la Música Española*, vol. II, Barcelona 1944.

No.	*Page.*	*Title.*	*Source.*
45	57-58	Tiento XIX. Julius de Modena.	Source : MN, No. XII, f. O v.
46	59-60	Tiento XX. Julius de Modena.	Source : MN, No. XI, f. O iv.
78	115-116	Himno V. Pange lingua IV. Anónimo.	As noted in VH, 169, this piece is by Antonio de Cabezón and is printed in FP III, 17.
85	127-129	Himno XII. Ave Maris Stella V. Antonio.	As noted in VH, 169, this piece is by Cabezón and is printed in FP III, 50.
93	137	Completas de Cuaresma. Salmo I. Cum Invocarem. Anónimo.	This piece is attributed to Verdelot in EV, f. 31.
120	190	Rugier, Glosado de Antonio.	Another version of this piece appears in EV, f. 24, with the text, « Rugier qual sempre fui tal esser voglio » (Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, XLIV, 61).
123	194	Cancion IV. Revuillis vous. Anónimo.	This if the « refrain » of Janequin's chanson, « Le chant des oiseaux ».
128	203-204	Cancion IX. Demandez vous. Anónimo.	A chanson by Crecquillon printed in *Premier Livre des Chansons a quatre parties*... Susato, Anvers, 1543, f. 3.
131	208-210	Cancion XII. Frais et gaillard ung jou. Anónimo.	Anglés suggested Clemens non Papa as composer, which is correct.

ALESSANDRO TADEI, A PUPIL OF GIOVANNI GABRIELI

HELLMUT FEDERHOFER (*Graz*)

In the second half of the 16th century several members of the Tadei family (alias Tade, Thadej, Taddei, Dade), a family of builders and stonemasons, arrived in Graz, Styria, from the canton of Ticino. They were led by Marco Dionigio Tadei. Archduke Karl II and the Styrian Diet entrusted them with constructing a number of important new buildings and altering new ones [1]. The father of the Graz, and later Viennese, court organist Alessandro Tadei, who was the only member of this large family that made any name for himself as a musician, is likely to have been amongst them. Eitner refers to the latter under three different spellings of the name (Taddei, Thadei, Todey), without being apparently aware of the identity of the three [2]. Walter Jesinghaus, who calls Tadei the most important musician whom Ticino has produced not only in the 17th century, but at any time, deserves the credit for being the first critic to undertake an evaluation of this master and for having published his Missa sine nomine a 16 from Ms 16702 (choir books) of the National Library in Vienna [3]. Documents found in the Archives of the Provincial Government in Graz [4] when the sources

[1] Thieme-Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, vol. 32, Leipzig 1938, p. 398. *Historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz*, vol. 7, Neuenburg 1934, p. 624.

[2] R. Eitner, *Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon*, vol. 9, pp. 341, 388, 415.

[3] Alessandro Tadei da Gandria, *Missa sine nomine 16 voci a cappella*. Trascritta dall'originale in notazione moderna a cura di Walter Jesinghaus, Lugano 1937. Compare also W. Jesinghaus, « Alessandro Tadei da Gandria » in *Illustrazione Ticinese*, 6, 11. Basel 1935, where several facsimiles of the original of the mass will be found ; W. Jesinghaus, « Alessandro Tadei und die Musik der Südschweiz » in *Die Tat*. Jg. 6, No. 141, p. 5, Zurich 1941. There a portrait is reproduced of A. Tadei as a young man. It is said to have been stored in the parsonage at Gandria after the death of the last of the Tadeis ; B. Seidmann, « Alessandro Tadei da Gandrias Missa sine nomine » in *Schweiz. Radio-Zeitung*, Dec. 19, 1942. The mass has been brilliantly produced by the Zurich Motet Choir under the direction of Bernhard Seidmann, several times in Switzerland, in London, Cambridge and Oxford. For the knowledge of the above-mentioned literature I am greatly indebted to Prof. Walter Jesinghaus, Lugano. Compare also *Schweizer Musikbuch*, Zurich 1939, under the name Tadei.

[4] In the Appendix the most important documents are reproduced in the original.

for a musical history of Styria were examined now permit us to supplement to a large extent the few facts previously known about Alessandro Tadei.

The Place and date of his birth are unknown. His name appears neither in the parish registers of Gandria and Lugano [5] nor in those of Graz, which admittedly begin only in the year 1589. The circumstance, however, that Archduke Ferdinand, who succeeded his father Archduke Karl II in the government of Inner Austria in 1596, had Alessandro Tadei musically trained at his own expense [6], leads to the conclusion that a builder from the family of Tadei, occupied at the Graz court, enjoyed special favour and that this builder was Alessandro Tadei's father. This seems to give greater probability to Jesinghaus's assumption that Alessandro Tadei was born in Graz and not at Gandria. As date of birth Jesinghaus assumes the years between 1585 and 1588 [7], which corresponds well with later corroborated dates. It cannot be proved that Alessandro Tadei was among the choir boys of the Graz court chapel, very few of whom are known by name.

Until recently it was a matter of doubt, when, where and under which master Tadei received his musical training. This question can now be answered conclusively with the help of several documents in the archives of the Provincial Government in Graz. We are still in possession of bills from Giovanni Gabrieli to Archduke Ferdinand concerning the expenses for Alessandro Tadei. From these it is obvious that Archduke Ferdinand sent Alessandro Tadei from Graz to Venice to study under Giovanni Gabrieli with whom the Archduke has previously been in contact. Accordingly Tadei arrived in Venice on 16th March 1604. There he was accommodated, educated and musically trained by Gabrieli at the Archduke's expense [8]. The main point of the instruction was the training in organ playing. The instruction lasted two and a half years. More definite details are not known. On 16th September 1606 Tadei left Venice and his famous music master and went to Udine from where he returned to Graz on 22nd November 1606 [9]. Here he was appointed court organist at the Graz court in the same year (not in 1607) with a monthly salary of 22 florins and a yearly dress allowance of 31 florins [10]. In the following year he was granted 50 florins for paying off the debts incurred during his return journey and for the purchase

[5] A. Tadei, *Missa sine nomine*. Prefazione by W. Jesinghaus.
[6] Appendix No. 1.
[7] W. Jesinghaus, *Illustrazione Ticinese*, 6, 11. Basel 1935.
[8] Appendix No. 2.
[9] Appendix No. 2.
[10] Appendix No. 6.

of furniture [11]. Archduke Ferdinand must have been well pleased with his musical achievements, for in 1610 he granted him not merely the privilege « di poter ritornar in Italia per megliorar et ben servir », but also a present of 100 florins which Tadei asked for his former teacher Giovanni Gabrieli whom he had presumably visited again for a short time on account of his studies. As Tadei mentioned in his petition of 1609, he was reminded by the Signoria in Venice before he returned to Graz in 1606 that such presents to Giovanni Gabrieli were customary from princes and high lords who entrusted him with pupils for training [12]. The new stay of Tadei's in Venice, where he perhaps met Heinrich Schütz who is known to have studied under Gabrieli at this time, can have lasted only a few months. When Archduke Ferdinand went to Vienna with his court retinue to attend the marriage festivities of the King (and later Emperor) Matthias in 1611, he was accompanied by the main part of the court chapel along with Alessandro Tadei [13]. He also accompanied him to the Imperial Diet of 1612 in Ratisbon [14]. On 2nd May 1617 Tadei married at Graz Delphina Datili, the widow of the court secretary Hieronymus Datili, on which occasion Giovanni Priuli, then conductor of the court chapel in Graz (and later in Vienna), presented him with a drinking vessel to the value of 30 florins as a wedding present of the court [15].

After Ferdinand had been elected German Emperor in 1619, the Graz court chapel led by Giovanni Priuli removed to Vienna. An orchestra list of Emperor Ferdinand, which was already published by L. Köchel, has been preserved. In this document dating back to 1619 Alessandro Tadei is mentioned as imperial court organist with a yearly salary of 264 florins along with 28 florins as dress allowance, and beside him Alessandro Bontempo and Giovanni Valentini who likewise can be proved to have been members of the court chapel in Graz [16]. At first Tadei had left his wife in Graz, along with his children who presumably came from the first marriage of his wife. Then in the year 1623 Ferdinand granted him the high sum of 1000 florins as a gratuity in order to carry out the removal of his family to Vienna [17]. Tadei, however, only remained in the service of the Emperor until 1628. In this year he went to Kremsmünster where he took over the direction of the church music in

[11] Appendix No. 3.
[12] Appendix No. 4.
[13] Appendix No. 10.
[14] Appendix No. 6.
[15] Appendix No. 5, 8 and 11.
[16] L. v. Köchel, *Die kaiserliche Hof-Musikkapelle in Wien von 1543 bis 1867*. Wien 1869, p. 129.
[17] Appendix No. 7.

the local Benedictine Monastery [18]. In the library of Kremsmünster Monastery a Venetian print of Tadei's hitherto unknown has been preserved from the year 1628. In this document, of which there is only one copy, he refers to this position. The title is : « Psalmi vespertini integri omnivm solennitatvm octo vocibus modulati, cum Basso pro organo. Auctore R. D. Alexandro Thadaeo, Illustrissimi et Reverendissimi D. D. Antonii Abbatis etc. eiusque celeberrimi monasterii Cremiphanensis, Ordinis Sancti Benedicti, Musicae praefecto. Sub signum Gardani. Venetiis 1628. Apud Bartholomeum Magni ». On the back of the title page his former position is mentioned : « Alexander Thadaevs, Ferdinandi II. Imperat. Aug. olim Organista » [19]. In an undated petition (ca. 1628) Tadei requests the payment of 400 florins. This lump sum had been agreed upon to be paid to the first husband of his wife who had also died. From this document we gather that he had « in frembte landt verraist vnd erst jüngst angelangt » [20]. Apparently Tadei had again travelled to Venice and had there watched over the printing of his work. As O. Wessely informs us, Tadei occupied his post as conductor of church music at Kremsmünster only until 1629 [21]. This becomes clear from a written request to Emperor Ferdinand in this or the following year. In this he asked for a lifelong pension of 50 Reichstaler a year [22]. Tadei expressed his intention in it of entering a Carmelite monastery. In the beginning the monastery had refused him admission due to certain suspicions, but had then become convinced of his complete innocence, offered him satisfaction and invited him to enter the monastery. According to Tadei he had reached an irrevocable decision to accept the invitation after a serious illness and to return to the Order of the Carmelites. Since Tadei asks for the payment of the pension from the tax-collector's office in Trieste and refers to it as a « testimonio anco in *parte forestiere* della Magnanimita, che V. M. suol usare verso quelli, che fedelmente l'hanno seruita » [23], he probably entered a Carmelite monastery in Northern Italy, where he presumably continued his work as organist and choir master. That would bear out the statements of E. L. Gerber, who reports in his « Lexikon der Tonkünstler » that Tadei was « ein berühmter Contrapunktist und Kirchenkomponist des 17. ten Jahrhunderts in Italien » [24]. At this point further research should be taken

[18] P. Altmann Kellner, *P. Benedikt Lechler*, Kremsmünster 1933, p. 30.

[19] Herr Dr. P. Altmann Kellner, the present choir director of Kremsmünster Monastery, very kindly drew my attention to this print.

[20] Appendix No. 8.

[21] O. Wessely, *Musik in Oberösterreich*, Linz 1951, p. 23.

[22] Appendix No. 9.

[23] Appendix No. 9.

[24] E. L. Gerber, *Histor.-biogr. Lexikon d. Tonkünstler*, T. 2, Leipzig 1792, col. 613. Contrary to Gerber's statement the Parnassus musicus, published by G. B. Bonometti, contains only one motet by A. Tadei.

up. Ferdinand II granted his request on 20th April 1630 [25]. With that date the reports about him come to an end in the archives of the imperial court in Graz. In later documents his name is no longer mentioned. All that is known is the year of his death, which C. Trezzini quotes, without however indicating his source. According to him Tadei died in Gandria in 1667 [26].

The number of works which can be proved to have belonged to him is small. As regards prints, the vesper psalms of 1628 have already been referred to. Apart from them only a motet for three voices « O beatum Carolum » for soprano, alto, bass with Basso continuo has been handed down to us in the collection « Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus », published by the Graz court musician Giovanni Battista Bonometti in Venice in 1615 [27]. The Missa sine nomine for four choirs (sixteen voices), which has already been mentioned in the introduction, is hand-written, as well as the « Hodie beata Virgo » « In Purificatione B. Virginis » *a 10*, in Codex Lechler 12, p. 172, of Kremsmünster Monastery library, which, according to Altmann Kellner, was probably written after 1649 [28]. But the piece itself, as well as the vesper psalms of 1628, was certainly composed at the time when Tadei was organist at Kremsmünster. Tadei, on the other hand, must have written the mass for sixteen voices, and similarly the motet « O beatum Carolum », printed in 1615, while he was employed as the court organist of Ferdinand in Graz. The manuscript 16702 of the National Library in Vienna which preserves the mass, contains in addition masses for sixteen voices by Joan de Croce, Francesco Stivori, Gregorio Zucchini, Lambert de Sayve, Georg Poss, Giovanni Priuli, Reimundo Ballestra, and also a 17-voice and a 26-voice mass of Georg Poss and a 24-voice mass by Annibale Padovano, who with the exception of Croce and Zucchini were all members of the Graz court chapel of Karl II (1564-1590) and of Ferdinand (1596-1619). Furthermore the manuscript may have been written by the same hand as the choir books, Ms 16707, of the National Library in Vienna. These choir books also contain masses arranged for several voices, and some of those were likewise written by Graz court musicians (Lambert de Sayve, Simon Gatto, Francesco Rovigo, Reimundo Ballestra and Georg Poss). The time of their origin is more closely defined by the writer's note « Laus Deo beatissimaeque virgini Mariae 1610 ». It may be assumed that Ms 16702

[25] Appendix No. 9.

[26] *Historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz*, vol. 7, Neuenburg 1934, p. 624, Article on Tadei by C. Trezzini.

[27] A microfilm of this single print exists in the Musikwissenschaftliche Institut der Universität Graz, where there are also scores of the motets composed by Graz court musicians, including those by A. Tadei, all of which are to be found in this collection.

[28] P. Altmann Kellner, *op. cit.*, pp. 19, 29 and 62.

as well as 16707 were choir books intended for the Graz court chapel which reached Vienna only after Ferdinand had been elected German Emperor in 1619. The terminus ad quem of the above-mentioned motet is indicated by the year of printing. In any case, all the works so far traceable to Tadei derive from the time before 1630, the year of his intended entry into the Carmelite monastery. Since Tadei lived over 30 years afterwards, during which time he can hardly have been idle as a composer, his later creative works seem to have been lost or to have remained unrecognized in Italian libraries. Gerber's statemant appears to corroborate this supposition.

Even if one did not know that Tadei was a pupil of Giovanni Gabrieli one could unhesitatingly reckon him to the Venetian school. As his great master, he makes use of several choirs, but like him he already employs arrangements for few voices with indispensable thorough-bass, as in the case of his motet for three voices, « O beatum Carolum ». Short motifs employed imitatively and often in quavers, the use of sequences and frequent cadences lead to a loosening of the rhythm typical of early Baroque music and a strongly pronounced clarity of structure. On the other hand, his mass for four choirs, which has been made easily accessible by the new edition of W. Jesinghaus, is a perfect example of full and magnificent sonority. The individual choirs are in different clefs. The first choir demands high voices, the second the normal combination of voices, the third deep and the fourth quite deep voices. I do not believe that Tadei composed the mass on the occasion of a definitive festivity, since all the masses in Ms 16702 are for 16 voices, sometimes even for 17, 24 and 26 voices. Likewise the exclusively sacred works contained in the Mss 16703, 16707 and 16708, which were presumably written by the same hand, employ several choirs throughout. Archduke Ferdinand increased the size of the Graz court chapel considerably. Already in the early reign of his predecessor Karl II the Netherland influence (Johannes de Cleve, Lambert de Sayve) [29] had given way to the Venetian (Annibale Padovano, Simon Gatto, Annibale Perini). The increase in the size of the chapel facilitated the production of magnificent and representative works for several choirs. Such performances, however, can rarely have been purely vocal. In Tadei's mass the total volume demanded by the four choirs extends from contra À to a″, in other words it embraces exactly four octaves. Although M. Praetorius, the German authority on the practices of Venetian performances, quotes a few singers by name as rare excep-

[29] H. Federhofer, « Zur Neuausgabe der vierstimmigen a-cappella-Messe " Vous perdez temps ' von Johannes de Cleve » in *Aus Archiv und Chronik*, Graz, vol. 2, 1949, pp. 52-60, and H. Federhofer, « Lambert de Sayve an der Grazer Hofkapelle » in *Revue belge de musicologie*, vol. 3, 1949, pp. 213-218.

tions who even reached the contra F (according to the concert-pitch) [30], in general such deep voices were played by instruments, as it was a matter of course to leave the kind of arrangement of the individual choirs to the choirmaster. With regard to the separate placing of the individual choirs, Praetorius only demands that the text in a choir should not be completely left out [31]. A clear hint is contained in Lambert de Sayve's Missa a 16, handed down in the same choir books, Ms 16702, together with Tadei's mass. The text of the lowest voice in the second choir bears the remark : « Fagotto o voce forte ».

The title « Missa sine nomine » suggests that Tadei either did not use a model for his composition or that he did not want to mention it. But a certain uniformity frequently found in model masses inasmuch as the movements of the different parts of the mass begin in the same way, can be observed in this mass too, where the incipient motifs invariably span the fifth of the F-triad. Thus the initial motif of the Gloria consists of the second (descending) half of the Kyrie motif, whilst in the Sanctus the five-tone interval is filled stepwise in both directions and in the Agnus Dei by ascending notes. Following the development of the Catholic church music of the time, which strove more after a full flowering of festive magnificence than after a deep effect, melodious inventiveness and linear composition of the movements give way to full chords rich in intervals and to homophony. A consistent imitation throughout rarely occurs and even then only for short stretches, e. g. at the beginning of the Crucifixus for five voices, of the Sanctus and of the rather brief Agnus Dei, and it is soon replaced by the chordal phrase. In general, a composition in short motives, accentuated by a declamation syllable by syllable, prevails. Based on the chord it produces that element of rhythmic restlessness which is so typical of early Baroque music

[30] M. Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum*, T. 2, Wolfenbüttel 1619, p. 17.

[31] This had the result that each choir was directed by its own subconductor. Evidence of this practice, as applied in the Graz court (and later Jesuit) church, the present cathedral church of St. Egydius, in the second half of the 17th century, is given by the following passage in Michael Franckenberger, *Prächtiger Einzug zu dem kayserl. Beylager der... Frau Claudia Felice, röm. Kaiserin...* Grätz 1673 : When Emperor Leopold entered the Court Church, there began « die Herren Capellenmaister... mit mehr als dreissig Stimmen, darunter die Posaunen und Zincken glungen, die Seiten sprungen, die Trompeter bliesen, die Zimblen schallten, die trefflichen Lob-Sprüche von H. H. Ambrosio und Augustino verfasset, mit innigster Hertzens Frewde Gott danckbarlichen auffzuopfern » ... ; a similar reference is made to the wedding ceremony conducted by the Papal Nuncio with the assistance of four bishops : « Die Herrn Capellmeister etliche zu diesem hohen Werck gehörige Danck- vnd Lob-Sprüche Gott aufzuopfern vnd dises geschahe vnter dem lieblichen Gethöne der Seitenspile, vnter dem frölichen Halle der Trompeten, vnter dem ohnaussetzlichen Knall vnd Widerschall der grossen Stücke der abgelassenen Musqueten ». Compare H. Federhofer, « Zur Musikpflege der Jesuiten in Graz im 17. Jahrhundert », published in *Aus Archiv und Chronik*, Jg. 2, Graz 1949, pp. 134-135.

and which is further underlined by the fact that the individual choirs relieve and echo each other. Quite often the even and odd-numbered choirs play together in an ensemble. In such cases the basses of the choirs often move in parallel octaves or in unison. The complex structure of motifs, which in classical polyphony is held together by coherent imitations of some length, is here split up into brief elements ending in cadences and is devoid of any integration into a higher tonal unit. There is a vacillation between the sounds within the circle of a fifth, with E flat and E indicating the highest and lowest limits, and F forming the centre, without, however, fulfilling the function of a tonic or exercising a stringent functional control over the other tones. The special charm of such a harmony, which is not yet fitted into the rational system of major and minor keys, is enhanced by an abrupt succession of great triads at an interval of a third. The choir technique is often employed to achieve a blending of tone colours. Thus the first Kyrie is sung by the highest and lowest choirs (the first and the fourth) alone; the second choir joins them for the Christe eleison and only the final Kyrie unites all four of them. Apart from this instance we repeatedly notice that high and low-pitched choirs are contrasted. Special mention must be made of the phrase « Ex Maria virgine » in the Credo, where the highest choir leaves the full harmony in a series of floating triads. But such passages of an intensified expression are rare. Short solos in the Gloria and Credo are employed to mix different tone colours. In the passage « Genitum non factum consubstantialem Patri » an imitative Cambiata is introduced [32]. This as well as madrigal effects, the descending figure at the word « descendit » and the rising notes at « ascendit » are old formulas, which prevailed throughout the 17th century. Otherwise the mass is modern according to the taste of the age, although some passages are a bit conventional. However, this is due to the fact that the whole species aimed at producing superficial effects, and not to any lack of creative talent on the part of the composer.

Tadei's works which are preserved at Kremsmünster and whose publication the organist of that monastery, P. Altmann Kellner, reserves to himself, fit well into the picture of the composer which has here been drawn. It is unlikely that the discovery of any hitherto unknown compositions will alter it decisively.

Tadei is one of a large number of italian composers, who worked at the Habsburg court. They belonged to the Venetian school, which

[32] The syllable « con » must not be sung before c'' is reached, as the same motifs demanded the same syllable in the text. For the same reason the soprano part in the Credo (p. 62) of the first choir must not sing the descending triad figure g'' -e'' -c'' over the syllable « lis » (Coe-lis), but must do so syllabically over « descendit », which explains the descending figure.

completely changed secular as well as church music in accordance with principles of sound and harmony. The fact that Tadei was a personal pupil of Gabrieli gives him a prominent position in that circle.

APPENDICES

HK = Graz, Landesregierungsarchiv [= Archives of the Provincial Government], Hofkammerakt [= File of the Court Chamber].

1.) HK 1605-I-62.

Report of the Imperial Court Chamber to Archduke Ferdinand.

Gnedigister Herr. — Johann GABRIELI bringt etlicher herausgeschikhten sachen vnd dann auch der ainen Khnaben mit Namen Alexander TADEY, welchen Eur Für[stlich] Dur[chlaucht] bey Ime auf der Orgl lehrnen lassen, Acht Monnat lang gegebnen Cost wegen, darfür Er monathlich 12 Cronen Rait, ainen auszug ein, der in allem 333 fl 11 Kr. 1 ϑ bringen thuet. Da befint sich aber vndter andern, das Ime daran zu Triest 57 fl 12 Kr. bezallt worden, Item das etliche absonderliche sachen Eur F. D. elemosinario vnd Capelmaister D. Petern Anthonien BIANCO zuegeschikht, darfür Er 10 fl. 24 Kr. eingestellt, welche zwo Posten, da sy von benennter Summa der 333 fl. defalciert werden, verblibe man Im noch 265 fl. 35 Kr. 1 ϑ, die Er Ime dann vnuerlengt zu bezallen gehorsamist bitten thuet. Ob nun gleich wol die Hof Camer für ainen Khnaben des Monnath 12 Cronen für die blosse Cost ausser der andern Notturft, die Er bsonderbar einsezt, zu spendiern ettwas zuuill bedunkht, jedoch weill der Supplicant ain forestier vnd zu Venedig die Victualien zimblich teuer, die verlaag auch nit so gar lang mehr continuiern wiert, So vermaint die Hof Camer, es wäre Ime Supplicanten die Passierung nit abzuschlagen vnd die nottwendige anschaffung bey dem Triesterischen Ambt begerter massen zu thuen.

Archduke Ferdinand to the Einnehmeramt (« tax collector's office ») in Trieste.

Ferdinand. — Bstandtleuth zu Triest sollen Johann GABRIELLN, für etliche musicalische Stukh 265 fl. 35 Kr. 1 ϑ bezallen. — Umb etliche zu Venedig bestelte vnd hieher geschikhte musicalische sachen wie auch für lehrnung auf der Orgl vnd Cost Alexandern TÄDEY, auch raichhung anderer Notturfft, verbleiben wir Johann GABRIELLN yber die aus deiner Ambts Verwaltung hieuor empfangnen 57 fl. 12 Kr. wie auch sonsten eingenomnen Post, noch in allem 265 fl. 35 Kr. 1 ϑ schuldig.

19. Janua[rii] 1605.

2.) HK 1607-III-34.

Giovanni Gabrieli to Archduke Ferdinand.

Al Ser[enissi]mo Principe Ferd[inand]o Arciduca d'Austria Sig[no]re Sig[no]re Gratiosissimo hum[ilissi]ma supp[li]ca di Gio[vanni] GABRIELLI.

— Mando a V. S. A. l'incluso conto, si di quelli ch'io spesi in diuerse cose li anni passati in suo seruitio, come anco p[er] la spesa cibaria et uestire di Allessa[n]dro TADEI suo seruitore, che è appresso di me p[er] imparare la Musica et sonar d'organo, supp[li]cho V. A. S. che voglia gratiosam[en]te comettere, che sia apparegiato et saldato il detto conto et alla benigna gra[tia] di V. S. A. humilm[en]te mi racc[omman]do. Di V. S. A. humil[issi]mo ser[vito]re Giouanni GABRIELLI.

1604 adi 6 Ott[o]bri
Notta delle spese, fatte da me Giovan[ni] GABRIELI in Venetia p[er] il Ser[enissi]mo Arciduca Ferdinando d'Austria.

Adi den 6. october des 1604 Jar.[33] Verzaichnuss der sachen, die ich Johan GABRIEL zu Venedig hab ausgeben für Ihr Für. Durchl. Ertzhörzogen zu Österreich, wie hernach folgt.

There follow details of the purchase of historical and medical works, as well as of silver and chrystal objects for Archduke Maximilian during his stay in Venice. The only reference of any importance to the historian of music concern the Chapel singer Giulio Cesare Rossini, who joined the Graz court chapel in 1604:

The same items are quoted in a German translation.

Al Sig.r Giulio Cesare ROSINO Contre Alto l[ire] 90. — che è uenutto fuora a seru[iti]o di S. A[ltezza].

Mer geben dem Juli Cesar ROSINO Contraalto, In Namen Ihr Für. Durchl. ... fl. 18.

Spesse fatte p[er] Alesandro TADEI ser[vito]re del Sere[nissi]mo Arciduca Ferd[inand]o da Austria p[er] impararli assonar de organo et la musicha e le spesse qual vene in Cassa di me Giouani GABRIELLI adi 16. Marzo 1604. p[er] il viagio da Graz à Venettia lir 75.

Verzaichnuss wass ich hab aussgeben für Alexander TADEY, Ihr Für. Durchl. Diener, da Ich Ime auff der orgl vndt Musica unterrichtet vndt auch andere dergleichen sachen, vndt ist zu mir khumen den 16. Martij des 1604., auch wass er verzert hat von Graz bis auff Venedig.

This is followed by several items concerning the accommodation of Alessandro Tadei, such as clothing, doctor's and chemists fees, confessor, barber, amongst which the following reference to his musical instruction:

The same items are quoted in a German translation.

p[er] un libro da intaulatura — Mer ein Tablatur Puech .. Kr. 18.
p[er] un libro da partitura — Mer ein Tablatur Puech .. Kr. 36.

[33] There exists a contemporary translation of this petition. I have quoted it in the right-hand column, as some passages in the translation do not agree with the original.

The total of the bills amounts to 788 Lire 15 Cent. Underneath the following explanation :

Questa suma, che vede V. S. e p[er] spesse fatte p[er] sua Altezza Ser.ma et p[er] Alessa[n]dro TADEI ; resta adesso li dinari della docera che sara di ani dua et mezo che feniua adi 16 Sette[m]bre 1606. Lassia[n]do fuori li danari del Ser.mo LeoBoldo et li aneli... et sono in tutto lire cinqua[n]ta dua : come V. S. uedra. A dodeci scudi al mese di dua ani et mezo mi uien scudi 360 et delle spesse fatte p[er] il Ser.mo et Alessa[n]dro, scudi 112 et lire quatro, che sono in tutto scudi 412 et lire 4 ; a questo conto ho riceuto dal S.or Bortolamio dal Calice [34] fiorini 500, ne mai altro non o riceuto da niuna p[er]sona come benissimo si puo saper, tal ueze che resta io creditor scudi 115 et lire 2.

Disse Suma ist für die ausgaben, die ich getan hab für Ihr Für. Durchl., auch für Alexander TADEY, fuer die Rais, die ehr auff Venedig than hat, verzert, auch fur andere seine Notturften, wie man siht ; volgt hernach die Khost für den Alexander TADEI, da man mir gibt alle Monath 12 Silber Cronen, die eine 7 lire gilt, die machen 84 Lir, ... des Jar Cronen 144 vndt 2 Jar vndt ein halbs ist schon fürüber, da ehr bei mir ist, auch sambt den jezigen 1606, den 16. September, weliches bringt Cronen 360.

Giovanni Gabrieli to Archduke Ferdinand.

Al Ser.mo Principe Ferdinando Arciduca de Austria sig[no]re sig[no]re clementiss[im]o humiliss[im]a supp[lica] di Gio. GABRIELLI. — Poiche dalla ecc[el]sa Camera di V. S. A. non è stato anchor spedito il conto che le ma[n]dai li mesi passati, et esendo venuto Allesandro TADEI à seruir V. S. A. ho volsuto Inuiarle questo poco ressiduo d[e]lle spese fatte per lui, doppoi il detto conto supp[lican]do V. S. A. che gratiosam[en]te la voglia comandare, che li dinari di queste due polize mi siano fatti pagare, qui in Venetia dal Sig.nor Bartolomio Bontempello del Calice per schiuare il pericolo di mandarli à torno ; et alla benigna gratia di V. S. A. humilissim[amente] mi racc[oman]do. Di V. S. A. Humiliss[i]mo seruitore Gioan[ni] GABRIELLI.

Ultimo conto mandato dal GABRIELLI del restante d[e]lle spese fatte per Alessandro TADEI, sino alli 22. Novembris d[e]l Año passato [= 1606].

Doppo mandato il detto conto, si sono fatte le seguenti spese necessarie, per Il detto Alexandro TADEI.

This is followed by several items

Die lezte Raittung, da Giouan GABRIELI hat herauss geschikht, von dem Uberrest der ausgaben, die ehr hat aussgeben für Alexander TADEY biss auff den 22. Nouembri des vergangnen Jar. [= 1606].

[34] The Archduke's Ambassador in Venice.

concerning the accomodation of clothing to be added by :

Di piu douendosi partir p[er] Graz, al sartor che ha conzoli suoi drappi ... lir 8.

per il suo viaghio ..... lir 37

Piu per doi messi di piu che l'è stato da me etse è partito alli 22. 9bro lir 168.

für die Raiss von Venedig biss auff Gräz, vndt auch, d[a]ss man seine Khleider dort zuuor verbesert hat... fl 1 : 36 Kr.

für sein Raiss von Venedig biss auff Udine verzert... fl 7 : 24 Kr.

Nach meiner Raittung ist ehr mir noch 2 Monath vndt Etlich Tag vber mein Raittung dorth gebliben, vndt ist nacher verraist den 22. Novembris, bringt dieselbigen 2 Monath... fl 33 : 36 Kr.

The bill was sent on to the Court Accountants' Office for checking. The Accountant and also the Vice-conductor Mattia Ferrabosco confirmed that the above-mentioned bills were correct. Out of a total sum of 717 florins and 41 kreutzers Gabrieli had already received 500 florins through Bontempo del Calice in Venice. The remainder was remitted to him through the Einnehmeramt in Trieste :

Archduke Ferdinand to the Einnehmeramt in Trieste.

Bstandman zu Triest solle Gion GABRIELI für Püecher vnd Uncosten auf Alexandern THADAE 217 fl. 41 Kr. 1 ϑ bezallen. — Demnach wir Gio. GABRIELIS in Venedig vmb etliche vnns überschikhte Puecher vnd umb das, so Allexander THADEUS bey Ihme in der Khost verzert oder auch in gellt von Ime ausgenumben 217 fl. 41 Kr. 1 ϑ noch zu thuen schuldig, so beuelchen wir dir hiemit, du wellest Ime solche 217 fl. 41 Kr. 1 ϑ gegen seine Quittung ehist guetmachen...

Gräz, 7. Martij 1607.

3.) HK 1607-V-81.

Alessandro Tadei to Archduke Ferdinand.

Durchleuchtigister Erzherzog zw̃ Österreich, Genedigister Landtsfürst vnd Herr. Das Eur. F. D. mich vor andern zu Irem Organisten g[nädig]st aufgenumen, thue ich mich dessen, gegen Eur. F. D. in höchster vndterthänigkeit bedanckhen, verhoffendt mit götlicher Hilf, solche dienst dermassen abzuwartten, daran Eur. F. D. ain g[nädig]stes wolgefallen tragen solle. Nach disem aber, wirt [= werde] ich nothalber bezwungen, bey Eur F. D. mit disen meinem gehorsamisten Suppliciern widerumb einzukhumen, Weiln Ich in meiner Rais, von Venedig aus, hieher, nit allein 25 Taller verzert, vnd mich ganz vnd gahr entblöst, sondern auch alhie, durch Cost, ehe ich aufgenumen worden, in schulden geratten, die wöllen aus angeborner fürstlichen milden mich mit ainem gnadengelt auf dismals, zu abzallung meiner Schulden, wie auch zuerkhauffung aines Pedtgewandts vnd einrichtung g[nädig]st bedenckhen. Solche Erzherzogliche Gnad, will Ich die Zeit meines lebens in khein Vergessen stöllen. Eur F. D. mich beynebens zu g[nädig]sten gewehrung ganz vndterthenigist beuelchendt Eur F. D. Vndterthenig : gehorsamister Alexander THADEI.

Request granted: Pfennigmaister solle Alexandern TATEY Organisten 50 fl. gnadengellt geben. Gräz, 17. May 1607.

4.) HK 1610-IV-78.

Alessandro Tadei to Archduke Ferdinand.

Ser[enissi]mo Principe S[igno]re Clem[entissi]mo. — Quando io party dalla schola d[e]l sig[nor] Gio[vanni] Gabrieli fui amonito da S^a Sig[no]ria, che mai nessun scholaro di Principi o altri signori si erano da lui partiti, che dagli loro signori, non le fusse stato fato un presente, onde Io gli promisi di supplicar l'A. V. S. per questa gratia, & essendosi compiaciuta l'A. V. S. di concedermi gr[ati]a di poter ritornar in Italia per megliorar & ben seruir l' V. A. S. non posso piu nascondermi ma suplicarla a Volerle esser gratiosa di un Dono di 50 Talari, di piu omeno di quello, che alle sua liberalita, le pararà di concedere, che questa gratia, che da V. A. S. sara concessa, cadera in tanto megior obligo & seruitu mia apresso di lei. Alla cui buona Gratia humilissim[en]te me le inclino. Di V. A. S. Humiliss[i]mo Ser[vito]re Alexander THADEI. *Dated of the Court Chamber Graz with 19. september 1609.*

Request granted: Jeremia de Leo solle Alexander TADAEI ain Verehrung von 100 fl. Werth nach Venedig guetmachen. — Demnach wir vnserem Organisten Alexandern TADAEI für seinen gewesten Lehrmaister Gion. GABRIELLN ain Verehrung von 100 fl. werth mit gnaden bewillight, so bevelchen wir dir hiemit, dass du dieselben Ime GABRIELLN eheistes nach Venedig richtig machen wöllest...

Gräz, den 16. Aprill 1610.

5.) HK 1617-IV-35.

Archduke Ferdinand to his Hofpfennigmeister Christoph Khirchpichler.

Ferdinandt. — Gethreuer Lieber, demnach wür vnsern Hofforganisten Alexandern TADEY auf sein alberaith angesteldte hochzeitliche Ehrnfreut ain Trinckhgeschirr vm dreyssig gulden wehrt zu ainem hochzeit Presenndt g[nä]d[ig]st verwilligt, dir darauff mit gnaden beuelhent, das du dasselbe, vnserm Capelmaister vnd auch gethreuen lieben Johann PRIULY, Alls vnserm verorndten Gsanndten Vnuerzogentlichen zuestellen wellest, Inmassen dir dann der werth darfür hierauf vnd gemelts Capelmaisters Quittung bey Raittung für guett Ausgab passiert werden solle. [s. loco.] den lezten Appril 1617.

6.) HK 1619-XI-34.

Alessandro Tadei to Emperor Ferdinand II.

Sacra Cesarea Maesta. — Si come nel tempo della seruitu mia ch'e di quindici anni in circa non ho in alcun tempo sturbata la S. C. M. Vostra con adimandarli gratie de donativi, et in particolare in molte occasioni de graui dispendij et de viaggi come m'e occorso da quello di Ratisbona in qui, nelle quali ogn'uno e se[m]pre statto gratiato dala infinita clemenca sua ; restarei similmente hora di prender tanto ardire se le graui mie ne-

cessita non m'astringessero, et il certo sperare nell'innata sua magnanimita no m'inuitasse, che per ciò mi mouo a significarli humilmente come nel sudetto te[m]po molte uolte ho hauuto gran causa di supplicarla, Ma hora maggiormente m'e accresciuta in eccesso tale che piu non posso contenermi tanto piu ancora che gia poco tempo mi soprauenne una gravissima et lunga infirmita, nella quale incredibilmente ho dissipato assai : Per tanto supplico la S. C. M. V. che benignamente si Compiacia gratiarmi di donatiuo tale ch'io posso ricuperarmi da i dispendij passati, et trattenermi senza piu sturbarla non solo altri quindici anni come ho fatto, ma molto piu come desidero, nel qual tempo et in perpetuo non tralasciero di se[m]pre pregare alla S. C. M. V. da Dio N. S. continuo augumento di prosperita et felicissimo impero. Della Sacra Cesarea Maesta Vostra Perpetuo et Humiliss.° Seruitore Alessandro TADEI, organista.

Report of the Court Chamber by the Imperial Court Accountant Jacob Gablzhofer to accompany the above petition :

... Auf hiebeiligents THADEI Organisten Supplicirn hab Eu[er] Gn[aden] ich souil berichten sollen, dass der Supplicant A[nno] 1606 zu ainem Organisten angenommen worden, mit Monatlichen 22 fl ; thuet ain Jar neben 31 fl. claidergelt 295 fl. Seine Dienst erstrecken sich in das fünfzechennte Jar.[35]

Gnadengaben A[nno] 1607 aus dem Pfennigambt 50 fl. A[nno] 1610 seinem Lehrmaister Johann GABRIEL zu Venedig für Ime von gnadenwegen bezalt... 100 fl. Gnadengaben. Summe : 150 fl. Gablzofer. den 23. Octobris (1619).

Request granted : Ferdinandt. — Pfennigmaister solle Alexander TADEO hoforganisten 200 fl. gnad geben. 9. Novembris 1619.

7.) HK 1623-IX-43.

Emperor Ferdinand II to the President of the Court Chamber of Inner Austria in Graz.

Ferdinand der Ander... Edle vnd liebe getreue, Vnserm Hoforganisten Alexandro THADEO haben wir, auf sein bey vns allergehorsambist eingewendtes Suppliciern vnd bitten, aniezt 1000 gulden zu ainer gnad vnd absonderlich die verlag oder Raisvncosten, damit Er yezo sein weib vnd Khinder von Gräz herausführen vnd bringen lassen möge, darzugeben allergnedigist verwilligt. Geben in vnser Statt Wienn, 25. August 1623.

8.) HK 1628-I-114.

Alessandro Tadei to the Court Chamber of Inner Austria, Graz.

Genedig vnd Hohgebiettende Herrn. — Aus beyligender Copia werden sie mit gnaden zu vernemen haben, wasmassen dieselben meiner in Gott ruehenden hausfrauen Delfinae zu einer Abfertigung Ihres vorigen hauswirths seel : als H. Hieronimi Datili Röm : Khay ; May : gewesten wälischen Hoff Secretarij, ein Decret auf 400 fl. an högst ernenter Kh : May :

[35] These years include those spent under Giovanni Gabrieli's tuition.

Rath vnd gewesten Hoff Pfenningmaister H. Cristopfen Khirchpüehler ertheillet. Weil nun die ganze Zeitt hero ich bemelter Sumae aus vrsahen ich in frembte landt verraist vnd erst jüngst angelangt, jemahln handthafft werden khönen, Als langet an Eur Gn : mein gehorsambistes flehen vnd bitten, mir dise hohe Genadt zu erweisen, vnd obernente 400 fl. bey herrn Veitl Schinderl als jezigen Khays. Rath vnd Hoff Pfenningmaister de novo g[nä]d[ig]st anzuschaffen. ... Eur Genaden Gehorsambister diener Alexander TADEUS, Organista.

Request granted: Hofpfenningmaister soll weillent Hieronymi Datili nachgelassnen wittib aniezo Alexandern TADEI Hausfrauen Delfinae 400 fl. abfertigung guet machen. 24. Jänner 1629.

9.) HK 1630-IX-90.

Alessandro Tadei to Emperor Ferdinand II.

Alla Sacra Cesarea Maesta Vostra humilissima supplica di Alessandro TADEI. — Volendo dar conto a V. S. Ces.ª Mtà per qual causa io non restassi nella Religione Carmelitana, il discorso sarebbe troppo lungo: basterà dunq[ue], che solo le accenni, che li Superiori doppo la mia partenza hanno conosciuta la mia inocenza, et hormai due uolte mi hanno inuitato à ritornar nella Religione, promettendomi dupplicate sodisfationi et contento. Ma io à tal loro inuito, et instanza non mi sono mosso. Hora, essendosi il Sʳ. Dio compiaciuto uisitarmi con due graui, et lunghe malattie, ancorche non considerassi per qual causa me le mandasse, in quest'ultima piu graue dell'altre, considerando il mio stato, et esaminando la mia conscienza et l'hauer fatto cosi poco bene, spinto la Diuina inspiratione, mi son resolto di ritornar nella Religione: Et cosi continuando in tal resolutiss[im]a deliberatione, non posso far di meno, di non ne dar parte alla Sac. Ces. M. V. et supplicarla app[re]sso à degnarsi per zelo della mia salute concedermi gratiosa licenza, Et in oltre à farmi una gratia àffine di potermi gloriare d'hauer seruito tanti anni un cosi gran Monarca, et mio benigniss[im]o Sʳᵉ et che 'l Mondo conosca, che la mia humiliss[im]a seruitù le sia stata grata. La gratia dunque, che desidero, et humiliss[imamen]te supplico sara il degnarsi V. M. ordinare, et commettere, che della Muda di Trieste mi venga annualm[en]te sin che uivero per modo di prouisione solo cinquanta talleri pagati: Et questi, accio con essi non solo mi possa ogn'anno vestire, saranno un testimonio anco in parte forastiere della Magnanimita, che V. M. suol usare verso quelli, che fedelmente l'hanno seruita.

Supplico per cosi piccola piccola gratia, accio V. M. non habbi occ[asio]ne di diminuirla, ma anzi piu tosto d'accrescerla. Però staro attendendo di rimaner in questa mia ritirata dal Secolo gratiato della benignità di V. M. per la quali sin che uiuero pregaro sempre il Sʳ Dio, et con tal fine humilissim[en]te m'inchino et racc[oman]do. Della Sacra Ces[are]a M[aes]ta V[ost]ra Humiliss[im]o Seruo Alessandro THADEI.

The request was granted: Ferdinand II to Prince Johann Ulrich von Eggenberg, Governor of Inner Austria in Graz.

Hochgeborner Oheimb, Fürst vnd Lieber gethreuer. — Die weillen vnser bishero gewester Hoff Organist Alexander TADEY vorhabens, sich

in den Hw. Carmeliter Orden zubegeben : allso haben wir Ime, auf sein hierinligundes, bey vns gehorsambist eingebrachtes Suppliciern, dise allergnedigiste bewilligung gethan, dass Ime, auf sein Leibs lebenlang, zu ainer Jährlichen pension, fünffzig Reichsthaller aus vnserm Triesterischen Ambt, geraicht werden sollen. Darauf ist nun, an D. L. vnser gnedigistes begehrn hiemit, dass Sie die weittere verordnung thuen wölle, damit ernentem TADEY, obstehunder Vnserer gnedigisten Resolution gemäss, solche fünffzig Reichsthaller oder Fünff vnd Sibenzig gulden ordenlich angeschafft, vnd hinfüro järlichen geraicht, vnd bezalt werden. ... Geben in vnser Statt Wien den 20. Aprilis 1630. Ferdinand.

10.) Budapest, National Museum, Cod. 165, fol. 420 (319).[36]

List of those members of the Graz court chapel who accompanied Archduke Ferdinand, when he travelled to Vienna in 1611 to attend the wedding festivities of King Matthias. Some of the musicians are mentioned by their Christian names only, whilst only the family names of others are given. As far as possible I have supplied their full names from the extracts I made from the Court Chamber Archives in Graz. The additions are given in brackets.

F. D^{t}. erzherzog Ferdinand zu Osterreich hofstat (1611).

Caplan

Herr [Joseph] Focas
Herr Graf [Bartolomeo] Cesana [de Mutis][37]

Musici

[Mattia] Ferabosco
Allexannder Thadei Organist
Augustin [Gavatro]
Allexandrino
Julio Cesare [Rosini]
Francisco Cassan
Francisco Delliati [= Degliatti]
Wolfganng Capel

[36] Already A. Schollich referred to this list of the court retinue. But he left out the names of the musicians « der Unwichtigkeit wegen » (!) and gave only their number — 28. Compare A. Schollich, « Zur Geschichte der Vermählungsfeierlichkeiten des Königs Mathias (1611) » in *Zeitschrift d. histor. Vereines f. Steiermark*. Jg. 9, Graz 1911, p. 183.

[37] The court chaplain Conte Bartolomeo Cesana de Mutis was at the same time court musician and composer. He is identical with the « Conte Bartolomeo Cesana » mentioned by Eitner (*Quellenlexikon*, vol. 2, p. 395) where Eitner does not supply any further biographical detail. Eitner proves that he was the composer of a « Musiche », published in Venice in 1613, and of two motets a 2 voci in the collection *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus*, which was also published in Venice (in 1615) by the Graz court musician Giovanni Battista Bonometti. On the latter see H. Federhofer, « Eine neue Quelle der musica reservata » in *Acta musicologica*, 1952 (in press), footnote 13.

Instrumentisten vnnd Trumetter
Oratio Sega
Georg Poss
Johan Babtista [de Sale]
Remundo [Ballestra]
Antania [Vigasi]
Adalberto Pollano
Oratio Sardena
[Jacob] Paradiso
Ferdinando Vento
Saloman [Ferro]
Martinus
[Ferdinand] Gaisswein
Georg Zimerman
Rheinhardt [Stumb]
Greger Stainpeckh
Hainrich Khelb [= Kholb]
Jacob Prager
Jacomo Vigasi
1 Herpauger
Der Calcant mit seinem Jung

11.) Graz, Stadtpfarre zum hl. Blut. Traumatrikel (*marriage registry*). Vol. 1, 1615-1620, fol. 85. 1617, Maius 2.

Ist der Edl vnd Vest Herr Alexander Shadeus (sic!) Ir Dchl. Erzherzogen Ferdinandi zu Östereich Hofforganist mit der Frauen Delffina, weilendt Herrn Hieronymi Datteli höchsternenter Ir. Für. Dchl. gewesten walischen Secretari hindterlassenen Frau Wittib zusamen geben worden in Domo.

Testibus H. Horatio Senna (sic!) [= *Oratio Sega or Oratio Sardena*] instrumentist Ir Dchl.
H. Joan Priuli capelmaister
H. Franz Draskouitsch ir Khostherr

ADDENDUM TO H. J. MOSER'S JOHANNES ZANGER'S PRAECEPTA

In *Musikforschung*, V/I 37 ff., Professor Hellmut Federhofer of Graz has recently published (end of January 1952) « Biographische Beiträge zu Erasmus Lapicida und Stephan Mahu », as the result of which the chronology of my contribution in *Musica Disciplina* (Vol. V, p. 195), already completed in summer 1951, has to be revised.

Mantuani (*Musikgeschichte Wiens*) and I were in agreement, according to our understanding of the memorandum on the « Schottenkloster » in Vienna by J. Rasch, that Erasmus Lapicida died there in 1519. Now Dr. Federhofer has found evidence in the archives of Graz that Lapicida, although old and ill, was still being financially supported by Ferdinand I on 12th December, 1544. According to other sources Stephen Mahu was, before 1528, as trombone player in the service of Ferdinand's wife, Anne, sister of Louis of Hungary, and then entered the service of Ferdinand's chapel between 1528 and 1532 in the capacity of assistant chapel master, till 1540 ; he stayed on until 1541 but only as trombone player. About 1544 he was either no longer fit for service or dead. Since Heinrich Finck died at « Schottenkloster » in 1527, the gripping scenes of 1519 can be dated instead 1527, possibly even later.

The particulars given by W. Senn to Federhofer from the municipal protocol of Innsbruck of 1544, according to which Hans Zanger asked to be granted half his entire salary for the theological studies of his son Johs. are naturally of little use for the dating of his sojourn as choir boy with Johs. Langkusch, since several years intervened between then and the time of the salary request. As Zanger was born in 1517, a known fact, he was in 1544 already 27 years old and so, naturally, his salary was stopped, which may have contributed to his departure from home and to his appearance as precenter the following year at Brunswick.

HANS JOACHIM MOSER

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For greater details see the Prospectus, April, 1952 and *Musica Disciplina* vol. V. All prices subject to change.

CORPVS SCRIPTORVM DE MVSICA

GUIDO OF AREZZO – *Micrologus*:

Attention is invited to the list of Mss (*Musica Disciplina* V, p. 240) constituting the sources for the *Micrologus*. We gratefully acknowledge a communication from Dr. J. M. Coopersmith, U.S.A., drawing our attention to the Ms 18845 of the Phillipps Library (now at William H. Robinson Ltd., London) and invite further such communications if anyone knows of a source not in the aforesaid list.

GUIDO OF AREZZO – *Commentaries on his Micrologus*:

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1. *Metrologus* (heretofore unpublished):
   London B. M. Landsd. 763
   London B. M. Arund. 130
   London B. M. Add. 4912
   Roma B. V., Regin. 1146
   Oxford Bodl. 515 *
   Lincoln Bibl. Cap. Cath. 229

2. *Liber Argumentorum* (heretofore unpublished):
   Roma B. V., Vat lat. 9496
   Roma Bibl. Vallic. B. 81
   Paris B. N. lat. 7211
   Cambridge Trin. Coll. 1441 (o.9.29)

3. *Liber specierum* (heretofore unpublished):
   The same Mss as in 2

4. *Commentarius anonymus in Micrologum*, edited by C. Vivell after the Ms Vienna (Cpv.) 2502; the new edition to be after the Mss:
   Vienna (Cpv.) 2502
   Firenze Bibl. Laur. Acq. e doni 33
   Oxford St. John's Coll. 188 (o.2)
   Leipzig Bibl. Un. 1492
   München (Clm) 14663

* We express thanks to Mr. Gilbert Reaney, Sheffield, England, for drawing our attention to the Mss of Oxford and Lincoln.

1952 — Tipografia « L'Impronta », S.p.A., Via Faenza 54 — Firenze

JOHN OF AFFLIGEM OR JOHN COTTON?

JOS. SMITS VAN WAESBERGHE

On pages 650-659 of *Notes* 1951 Dr. Leonard Ellinwood has drawn attention to the music treatise of *Johannes Cotto* (?) as it is found in the Ms ML 171 J 56 of the Library of Congress at Washington. This article is of importance, in the first place because it revives the argument in favour of the traditional ascription of the authorship of the treatise to John Cotton, an Englishman ; in the second place because it furnishes fresh variants to the authentic text as published in the first volume of the CORPUS SCRIPTORUM DE MUSICA (*Johannis Affligemensis De Musica cum Tonario* ed. J. Smits van Waesberghe, CSM I, Rome 1950). Both points invite closer scrutiny.

1. THE AUTHORSHIP

Ellinwood's article [1] is of interest to musicologists, since it draws attention to the only extant Ms which mentions the name Cotto in its superscription. Concerning this caption Ellinwood argues as follows : « At the head of fol. 1, there is an extra caption in modern black lettering : "De Musica Joan Cotton — Ad Fulgentium — Boethius". Throughout the manuscript, the rubrics are in the same style of hand used in the body of the text. This is true of the opening caption cited earlier : "Epistola Johannis Cottonis ad Fulgentium episcopum Anglorum". There is a blemish on the vellum just beneath this which gives the appearance of being an erasure, but careful examination and infra-red photography fail to disclose any trace whatever of writing on the spot, so that it is reasonably certain that the present caption is the original one ». These statements and their conclusions can be checked by the reader, since the article is illustrated with a number of photographs, among which is an enlarged reproduction of fol. 1.

[1] Through a misprint or an error, the Ms in the Library of Congress is referred to in the article of *Notes* as : ML 171 J 6 ; this should be ML 171 J 56.

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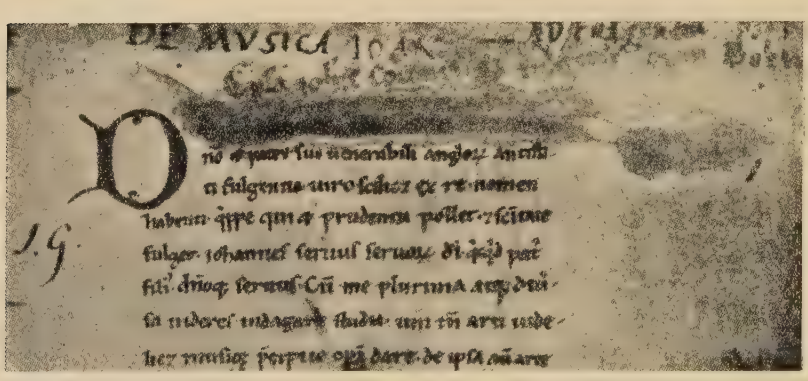
1. THE AUTHORSHIP

Ellinwood's article [1] is of interest to musicologists, since it draws attention to the only extant Ms which mentions the name Cotto in its superscription. Concerning this caption Ellinwood argues as follows : « At the head of fol. 1, there is an extra caption in modern black lettering : "De Musica Joan Cotton — Ad Fulgentium — Boethius". Throughout the manuscript, the rubrics are in the same style of hand used in the body of the text. This is true of the opening caption cited earlier : "Epistola Johannis Cottonis ad Fulgentium episcopum Anglorum". There is a blemish on the vellum just beneath this which gives the appearance of being an erasure, but careful examination and infra-red photography fail to disclose any trace whatever of writing on the spot, so that it is reasonably certain that the present caption is the original one ». These statements and their conclusions can be checked by the reader, since the article is illustrated with a number of photographs, among which is an enlarged reproduction of fol. 1.

[1] Through a misprint or an error, the Ms in the Library of Congress is referred to in the article of *Notes* as : ML 171 J 6 ; this should be ML 171 J 56.

The present writer while appreciating this new contribution to musicology cannot quite agree to every part of the above argument and ventures to submit the following considerations on the matter in question.

It is rightly stated that « the Ms proper is of the middle or late 12th century », but it is equally clear that the same date cannot be assigned to the rubrics, and therewith to the oldest extant caption « Epistola... ». These are not only by another and later hand, but they are manifestly 13th century work. The caption is not merely a supposedly later addition, or an addition made later in the 12th century. The difference between the handwriting of this superscription and that of the body of the Ms is the difference between the normal handwriting of the 13th century and that of the 12th : a difference therefore of maybe a hundred years.



In the second place it is said that the impossibility of tracing any writing makes it « reasonably certain that the present caption is the original one ». Surely, logic must rub her eyes at this rather startling jump. On the other hand the present writer flatters himself that logic would smile approvingly at the following line of argument : where there is an erasure there must have been something to erase, no matter whether there is any trace of writing left or not ; and in the present case what can be more reasonable than to suppose that this something was the original caption. In any case the absence of every trace of writing does not warrant the conclusion, that there was no writing at all, since the erasing may have effectually carried off *all* traces.

Leaving alone the question of what was there before anything was erased, a mere look at the photograph makes it clear that the two superscriptions of fol. 1 are later additions, and very slovenly ones at that ; in fact they look as if they were made not by a careful professional scribe, as was the man who wrote out the text, but

by a keeper of Mss who wanted to mark the Ms that he might identify it among other documents.

To turn to the superscription itself. It has two parts. Cited textually the lower part runs thus : « Epistola joannis Cocconis ad fulgentium episcopum anglorum ». The spelling is Coconis, with c suprascriptum over the second c ; in 13th century handwriting c and t were frequently interchanged as in *notitia* and *noticia*.

As regards the upper part Ellinwood says : « At the head of Fol. 1 there is an extra caption in modern black lettering : De Musica Joan Cotton — Ad Fulgentium — Boethius ». To the present writer it would seem that two hands have been at work here. A first hand wrote IOAN*NIS* COTTO*N*IS, with abbreviations that are characteristic of the Renaissance (16th century). Before these words a later hand (probably 17th century) put « De Musica » ; through the S of COTTONIS he drew what looks like a reference-mark to his final addition : « Ad Fulgentium post Boetium » ; it is just possible that this mark is no more than an attempt to change the final S into an N.

After these remarks on the superscriptions there remain two points for discussion : 1. is Joannes Cocco (or Cotto) the authentic name of the author? 2. is the author, who writes to an « antistes anglorum », an Englishman?

2. The Name Johannes Cotto

Of John's treatise there are 13 Mss in all that have been transmitted to us ; they date from the 12th to the 14th centuries and (cf. CSM I, 4 ff.) ten of these have the author's name in a superscription. The work and its author are mentioned in ten library catalogues of the 12th to 15th centuries. These together with the explicits of the treatise form a not inconsiderable body of evidence in favour of the traditional name John. To the above must now be added, as fourteenth, the Washington Ms. As appears from Ellinwood's publication this manuscript carries the name Cocco (Cotto) on its first page. This caption is not part of the original Ms ; it was added in the 13th century or about 150 years after the appearance of the treatise. This addition, then, is a mere curiosity and can hardly be considered serious evidence that Cocco or Cotto was really the author's name ; the less so because of the undoubted fact that it was rare for a man of about 1100 to have a double name of this sort. Ellinwood does not commit himself on the point and is satisfied with the statement, not in every part correct, that « at any rate, here is a manuscript in which the 12th century rubric plainly attributes the treatise to John Cotton ». Hence the query in the title of the article « John Cotton or John of Affligem? ».

The modern tradition about « John Cotton » dates from Gerbert, whose statements on the point are rather unsatisfactory. In n. VII of the *Praefatio* of Part II of his *Scriptores* he writes : « In Parisiensi vero et Antwerpiensi Mss *Joannes Cotto* seu *Cottonius* appellatur », and page 230 *ibidem* has : « in Msc Lips[iensi] Cottonius cognominatur. In cod. Paris. notatur prologus Epistola Ioannis Cottonis ad Fulgentium episcopum Anglorum » (These quotations should be diligently compared with the Washington Ms.). Now as regards Gerbert's references to Mss, the following facts are to be noted. At Paris no Ms of John's treatise is known to exist. At Leipzig a Ms is extant and is registered as Univ. Libr. 79, but it has nothing to say of Cotton or Cottonius. In support of Gerbert's statement mention must be made of the catalogue of the *Bibliotheca Belgica manuscripta* by A. Sanderus (Lille 1641), in which under the heading « Libri manuscripti latini Antverpiae in domo professa Societatis Jesu » one of the Mss is described as « Joannes Cotto ad Fulgentium Episcopum Anglorum, De Musica » (cf. the Washington caption). Taking these things together the most likely solution to smooth over Gerbert's confusing statements would seem to be that Gerbert and Sanderus are referring to one and the same Ms (perhaps the Paris one), and that this is the Ms now in the Library of Congress [2]. Whatever view on this point may be taken, it is quite certain that the surname « Cotton » can only be applied to the author John on grounds that are historically and patently unsafe : no Ms has transmitted it in its original text.

3. Is the Author an Englishman ?

Apart from the unreliable addition of Cocco or Cotto to John's name in the Washington Ms there is only one serious argument that gives a real support to the opinion that John may have been an Englishman, *viz.* the dedication by the author « Domino et patri suo venerabili Anglorum antistiti Fulgentio », i.e., to an English abbot or bishop. For there is every reason to suppose — and Ellinwood does not gainsay it — that the few medieval writers who speak of *Joannes Anglus* or *Anglicus* [3], do so under the direct influence of the same words « Anglorum antistiti Fulgentio ». The question, then, arises whether the reading « Anglorum » is the authentic reading.

The writer has advanced the conjecture that the original reading

[2] Ellinwood states that the Washington Ms was obtained by purchase from Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792-1872), who had bought it from the Belgian P. Ph. C. Lammes (1762-1836). The latter must have obtained it after the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773.

[3] Not to be taken for Joannes Hotby (15th c. ; cf. *G. S.* III, XXXI).

was « Angelorum » and that the Fulgentius in question was the abbot of Affligem abbey. This view is argued at length elsewhere [4]. The argument may be briefly summarized as follows :

1. Ms Rome Bibl. Vat. Reg. 1196 (12th c.) has « Angelorum » *pace* Dr. Ellinwood.

2. To a copyist knowing nothing of either John or Fulgentius « Anglorum antistiti » looks far less forbidding than « Angelorum antistiti » ; and when three out of ten Mss omit « Angelorum » or « Anglorum » altogether, this can be reasonably explained by the supposition that it was wanting in their exemplar or that they had misgivings about the word « Angelorum ».

3. In the 11th-12th centuries the monks of Affligem abbey were occasionally spoken of as « veluti angeli ».

4. No English abbot or bishop of the name is known ; on the other hand there was an abbot Fulgentius at Affligem at the time that the treatise was written.

5. There is striking, and in part verbal, likeness between the dedicatory phrases in John's letter to Fulgentius and those of a letter of Franco's to the abbot Fulgentius of Affligem.

6. The designation « Anglorum antistiti » though sounding all right bears no reasonable sense, any more than would the phrase « bishop of the French » or « abbot of the Italians ». This would be true, even if Fulgentius should turn out to have been an Englishman. So far there is no hint or clue whatever to the nationality of the latter.

Taken together the foregoing reasons justify the provisional view that Fulgentius was abbot of Affligem and that the reading « Angelorum » is entitled to a hearing, if not to an assent. On this reading in Ms Rome B. V. Reg. 1196 (not a Florentine manuscript) a few words remain to be said.

It was common practice for medieval writers to write *angli* with a horizontal stroke through the l to express *angeli* ; moreover a horizontal abbreviation stroke may take the place of a preceding letter (... *al*, ... *el*, ... *ul*) and is quite common with the letter l to express the Latin word *vel*, which then appears as *l* or *vl* with a stroke across the l. In view of this medieval practice, one is surprised to read in Ellinwood's article : « The usual practise in abbreviation of medieval Latin is for the sign to indicate an omitted syllable or letter to follow, not precede, the sign ; furthermore, in the penultimate line of this same photograph, the same stroke occurs on the last « l » of an abbreviated « scintillula » which the editor transcribes correctly as « scintillulam ». To be consistent, he should have transcribed

[4] Cf. CSM I, 23 ff. ; J. Smits v. Waesberghe, « Some Musical Treatises and Their Interrelations, A School of Liége c. 1050-1200 ? » in *Musica Disciplina*, 1949, 110 ff.

this as « scintilluela » which obviously would not make sense. Thus, it is higly questionable as to whether his reading of « Angelorum » can be accepted on such grounds ». On what rules of paleography this reasoning is based it is difficult to say. One also wonders, at some of the variants of the Washington Ms (*Notes* p. 654). Thus, while *dnr* with a stroke over the last letters is the current abbreviation for *dicuntur*, we are asked to read « dominatur *pro* dicuntur » (cap. XII, 40 ; main text : « dicuntur ») ; similarly *qd* with an *i* over the *q* is interpreted as « quod *pro* quid » (main text : « quid ») ; *tm* with an abbreviation stroke over *m* for *tantum* or for *tamen* (in the present text for *tantum*) is annotated as « tamen *pro* tantum » (cap. XVIII, 13) ; the following readings in cap. XIX need correction : « quo *pro* quod », « non *pro* nisi », « antiphona *pro* alleluia » ; for « secundum V » (main text : « secundum quinque ») Ellinwood reads : « secundum vero » (cap. XXI, 59). There are thus a fair number of corrections to make in the list of variants as published in *Notes*. Since the list is also incomplete, the writer has composed an independent list which follows below.

Of the two arguments, therefore, advanced in the article in *Notes* in favour of *Johannes Cotto Anglicus* the first does not establish the reading *Anglorum*, and the second, « a 12th century rubric plainly attributes the treatise to John Cotton », is erroneous in its dating. The argument, therefore, in favour of the combination « Johannes Affligemensis » still holds ; the more so since Ellinwood winds up : « To conclude, Smits van Waesberghe makes out a very good case for John of Affligem on the basis of the evidence available to him »[5]. Well, that evidence still stands unimpaired, and as long as no fresh evidence is brought forward to shake it, it will be wise to consider the name "Cotto" as highly questionable and to stand by the name « Johannes Affligemensis ».

There remains Ellinwood's passing reference to Anonymus IV (*G. S.* I, 344 b), which is thought to have been overlooked. There is of course a sort of similarity between « Johannes filius Dei » and « Johannes, servus servorum Dei », since in both cases there is question of a certain John, a figure of some standing in the world of music ; the common name may raise the question of the identity of the two, but cannot solve it : it leaves it as it is[6].

[5] *Cf.* H. Hüschen, *Die Musikforschung* VI (1953) p. 63 : « ... beweist die Entgegnung von L. Ellinwood (*Notes* VIII, 1950/51, 650 ff.), der auf Grund eines neuen Handschriftenfundes die Möglichkeit des Namens *Cottonius* bejahen zu müssen meint. Doch muss ... der Auffassung von Smits v. W. eine Ueberzeugungskraft zugestanden werden, die, solange keine gewichtigeren Gegenargumente vorgebracht zu werden vermögen, eine Umbenennung in " Johannes Affligemensis " und damit ein neues Geschichtsbild dieses Theoretikers rechtfertigt ».

[6] The same may be said of « Joannes Angeli, Opera Mathematica » which occurs in the old Catalogue of Tongres (*cf.* A. Sanderus, *Bibliotheca Belgica Manuscripta*, Lille 1641, p. 193).

4. John's Treatise in the Washington Ms.

Concerning the contents of the Ms, Ellinwood notes: « The treatise proper runs from fol 2^v to 29^v. At the conclusion of Chapter XXIII there is a simple *Explicit*. In the margin, and at the head of the next folio, there is a note : « Vacant infra duo folia » ; since the chapter headings on fol. 2 included the four now known to comprise Cotton's *Tonarius*, one suspects that the two missing leaves may have contained the *Tonarius* ».

This description and consideration should be amended and completed as follows. On fol. 29^v the treatise concludes with its twenty-third and last chapter. It is followed immediately by a simple *Explicit*, which word has the corrector's deletion mark, i.e. a dot, under each letter. In the margin there is a reference-mark, under this the query « quere hoc signum », still lower in a later hand and in larger characters, « post duo folia ». At the top of fol. 30^r a still later hand has written « vacant ista duo folia ». The hand of the copyist fills folia 30, 31 and 32^r with musical lore. In the 14th century part of the blank space on fol. 32^{rv} was used for a « Cantus Philippi Cancellarii ».

It is difficult to admit that « the two missing leaves may have contained the *Tonarius* ». Together with the notation the *Tonarius* would have filled at least fifteen folia, without the music about seven. In this matter no conclusion can be based on the fact that the table of contents makes mention of the four chapters of the *Tonarius* ; twelve Mss do so, but only four have the Tonarius actually appended.

Speaking under correction, the writer would reconstruct the marginal additions in the following tentative way. The scribe of the treatise, a mechanical copyist, had a copy containing the full table of contents but lacking the *Tonarius* at the end, as happens to be the case in the great majority of instances ; he added the usual *Explicit* and continued writing on the following pages. A later reader or student seeing no *Tonarius* added the dots under the *Explicit* and drew attention to this by a reference-mark containing the dots. A second reader not understanding this reference wrote under it " Quere hoc signum ". A third reader understood the deletion-mark and the query ; thinking he also knew the answer to the question he referred the reader to what was found two pages further on in the Ms and added " post duo folia " i. e. " two pages further down " ; this was a mistake. A fourth reader misread this answer and looked *for* two pages ; he did not find them, hence his remark at the top of the next page ; but — there are no pages missing.

As regards the text of the treatise, the Washington Ms supplies no fresh clue to the interrelation of the Mss; its musical notation suggests the Rhine-Meuse territories as its place of origin. The readings of the Ms in no way affect the authentic text as published in the series of CSM and demands no alteration of any detail. Naturally the Ms has its own variants, and for the reasons given above these variants are listed below.

5. Additions to the critical apparatus of CSM I.

<Musica Johannis> Wa = Washington Library of Congress ML 171 J 56 *fol* 1r
Tit alia manu Epistola Johannis Cottonis ad fulgentium episcopum anglorum
Tit alia manu post IONNIS COTTONIS
Tit alia manu post DE MUSICA <JOANNIS COTTONIS> AD Fulgentium post Boetium

<Epistola Johannis ad Fulgentium>
1 anglorum
2 ipsa autem arte me
4 hoc *pro* haec
6 Widonis
9 ex *pro* de; modo si velles; excipere
11 extimplo retusus
12 subiacere
13 interdum aliquid
15 Incipiunt Capitula *manu post*

<Index Capitulorum>
III quomodo inventa
V et discretione
X vocamus *pro* appellamus
XXI Widone
XXVI sexto simul cum differentiis

Capitulum I *fol* 2v
Titulum Tractatus non habet
Titulum Capitis in marg et manu post
1 hac opera
3 habent alias; desiderent
5 Ut queant... consideratur *om*

Capitulum II *fol* 3r
Tit manu post
6 ei incessanter operam; poterit consequi
7 et *om*
12 Wido

Capitulum III *fol* 3v
Tit manu post
sit *secundum om*
1 quidam *pro* quoddam
3 quidam *pro* quoddam
4 fiola *pro* phiala; concitatur *pro* excitatur
9 dicitur *om*
12 huius *om*

13 linum fuisse
17 sonoribus *pro* sonitibus
18 sequenti

Capitulum IV *fol* 4r
Tit manu post
2 etenim *pro* enim
4 alius discretus, alius est indiscretus
5 consonantia *om* ; vel in
6 sonum *pro* sonitum
10 propter nimiam mollitiem tertio abiecto

Capitulum V *fol* 5r
Tit manu post ; litterarum et discretione
3 sinomenon
4 pro litterarum paucitate
7 molle *suprascr* rotundum vel
10 differt a .G.
14 et ⊔ quadrato ; et quod
15 sit *pro* est
16 distinguantur ; eo *om*
19 ad huc
20 habent ; potestates *pro* proprietates ; et illa *om*

Capitulum VI *fol* 6r
Tit alia manu
3 igitur *pro* ergo ; metire aequales
5 quadratum duplicatum
8 quattuor *pro* quaternorum
9 vacat *pro* vacant
11 in *om* ; dimensione *pro* divisione
12 finunt *pro* fiunt

Capitulum VII *fol* 6v
Tit alia manu
4 decachornum
5 illud *pro* istud ; dubitatur
6 et *pro* ut
7 nec sciunt neque
8 Qui si *pro* Quodsi
11 energuminos

Capitulum VIII *fol* 7r
Tit alia manu
3 se *om* ; quae dicuntur... dupla *om*
4 pueris quia ; provectis
5 autem *om* ; percutitur
6 tonus *om*
8 Sicut *pro* Sic ; non sit ; tonus *post* dimidius *om*
10 tonos in se ; sit non
11 sunt duae
12 a *om*
16 modum *om*
18 *ad* 1 *suprascr* aequalitas ; 2 *et* 3 permutat ; *ad* 8 mi-fa-mi ; 8 *et* 9 *permutat*
19 et cetera *om*
20 Ter tria ... sonorum *cum litt tonorum suprascr sicut* Lo R G

Capitulum IX *fol* 8r
Tit alia manu
2 sunt *pro* sint

4 idem (*pro* eaedem)
5 non in figura
7 minor *pro* nimirum
9 octavam
12 tibi *pro* vel ; constat

Capitulum X *fol* 8v
Tit alia manu
2 cantatur *pro* canitur
6 licet
9 cantant
10 enim *om* ; variatur ; convenienter *om*
11 nos *om*
12 Widoni
14 indiciis carent ; compulsa ; asciscit
16 et *om* ; sanxerunt esse
17 tonos ; dividunt
20 illa antiphona ; hominem ren[ovans]
23 est coma ; sententia *om*
24 subiungit *pro* subditur ; sacerdotum *om*
25 est *om*
27 nec non incongrue
28 musici quidam ; nominant *om*
30 sciendum
35 plagis deuterus ; plagis tritus ; id est quintus, id est sextus, id est septimus, id est octavus
38 *cifras om*

Capitulum XI *fol* 10v
Tit alia manu
1 enim *pro* autem *suprascr* vel autem ; sunt octo
2 et *om*
4 modulationis
5 dispositi sic octo
9 quam *pro* quartam
10 autem *om* ; supra *om* ; est finalis
11 usurpat
13 Sciendum est
14 quocumque modo
16 tamen *om* ; attribuatur
18 torrentes ; illud ; abdicat
22 dictum aliquid ; incipienda
24 id est *om*
25 *ad* 1. *ri*.G.
ad 3. [*saeculo*]*rum Amen* .acc.
ad 4. [*saeculo*]*rum Amen* .bGE.
ad 6. *ri*.G. ; *a*[*men*].GF.
ad 7. *ri* .c.
ad 8. *lo* .b. [*saeculo*]*rum Amen* .c aG.
26 demonstrationem *pro* demonstrandam ; his *pro* hic ; altitudines *pro* aptitudines
27 *cum neumis in lineis*

DDC FGaG aGFE FGaG EFEED
ad 1. Dei

DA C CD DF D C DFF F CFDEFEDC DEFD DEFEDC DED
ad 2. Se - cundum autem simi-le est hu-ic

G GF ED Gac cdc cbaGF abcbGF GaG aGGE
ad 3. facta sunt

D C DFF EEFG FGFDC DEF GFFE
ad 4. vigili-a ; eos

aG F Fa ccdc c a G a c aG F FFabcdc cbaGabc baGbGGF
ad 5. Quinque pru-den- tes intraverunt ad nuptias

F Ga aFG F FD FG a GF F FFFEDC FGaGGF
ad 6. Sexta ho- ra se-dit super puteum
a b a aG GG abcdb cbaGF abcbacaaG
ad 7. ante tronum Dei
E FG GF accb aGac aG abcdb *etc*
ad 8. Octo sunt be-a-ti-tu-di-nes
30 toni *om*
31 licentia

Capitulum XII *fol* 12^{v}
Tit alia manu
1 sumus
3 ac *pro* et
6 vocamus *pro* dicimus
7 possumus *pro* proposuimus
8 finali sua
9 Licenter *pro* Licentiam ; ideo *pro* idcirco
10 ideo
16 experitissimus
19 capitalem
29 connectentur ; et *pro* ut ; communes utrique *add* thalamus ; Propriae plagalis *add* matronalis chorus
30 dicimus
32 cantus omnis
38 quibusdam *om*
39 accipimus *om*
40 semitonie proprie
41 plerumque *pro* plerique
42 modi quibus omnis

Capitulum XIII *fol* 14^{v}
Tit alia manu
1 est taedium
4 aliquid dicere inserere
7 medietates *pro* mediatrices
9 quia *pro* quoniam
10 vocabula illa
18 collocata
27 est *pro* enim
29 sciendum
31 quae *pro* quia
32 tetrachorda *suprascr* vel dum ; suprascriptis *in marg* eorumque expositionibus et litteris subicimus nostros

Capitulum XIV *fol* 16^{r}
Tit alia manu ; de cantu *om* ; in *om*
1 alias *pro* alienas
2 ista ergo ;
3 Itemque interdum sit ; plerumque irrefutabili
5 legibus
8 elevantur
10 duplicetur *suprascr* sive duobus tonis sive alia consonantia
13 peritia musicorum
15 subdamus
16 Sicut in antiphona ista ; nobis *om* ; secundum quosdam *om*
20 Wido ; ei necessaria... si eam *om*
22 me opprobrium ; ut *pro* et
24 tuorum domine

Capitulum XV *fol* 16^{v}
Tit alia manu
2 pro *pro* per ; ignorantia

D FG GFGD
5 Qui sedes *cum litt suprascr* Qui se-des
defd
6 su-per Cerubim ; paranete diezeugmenon *suprascr* .d. ; mese *suprascr* .a.
lichanos hypaton *suprascr* .B.
8 trite diezeugmenon *suprascr* id est .c.
10 trite diezeugmenon *suprascr* .c. ; incipiendum est ; parhypate *suprascr* .F.
12 non sit incipiendum
13 etiam *om*
18 Domine vincula mea
20 etc. *om*
21 Dominus viam iustorum ; hypomixolydii, hoc ; diastema et systema ; testantur
23 antiphonae *om* ; hypomixolydii sint ; nonnulli phrygio adaptant
26 Job nuntiorum verba
29 cursu *pro* statu ; ista *om*
30 diastema eius atque systema
F
31 *cum litt suprascr*; ad

Capitulum XVI *fol* 18r
Tit alia manu ; delectentur
1 demonstratum sit
3 illi ; isti ; utantur *pro* iuvatur
5 sonus *om* ; voce sexti ; saltus septimi
9 caras *pro* coram
13 sit toni
14 Virgo *om*
19 principes terrae
21 peccatrici unde apud quosdam tam ; eius *om*
22 d dfedcdcce
Esto
23 etiam *om* ; istud
25 Dominus *om* ; sunt me
26 toni *pro* tonis ; possunt
27 canitur
28 *sine litt vel neumis*
29 *sine litt vel neumis*

Capitulum XVII *fol* 19r
Tit alia manu ; et qui... sint *om*
1 mulcet musica mentem ; concitat *pro* incitat ; cogitatione
5 Wido
6 sit tanta
12 ut *pro* uti
16 sancti *pro* sacri

Capitulum XVIII *fol* 20r
Tit alia manu
1 variatur
4 scribit
6 ille sit
7 Clossonnus
9 uti cantum ita
11 dicimus *pro* diximus
14 et *om* ; hypolydium *suprascr* VI
15 illud vitium
16 studeat *om*
17 priori
20 habitat in adiutorio altissimi ; meus *om*
23 principalibus *in marg* autentis scilicet

Capitulum XIX *fol* 20^{v}
Tit alia manu
2 considerari potest
6 requirant
7 sicut *om*
8 vero *om*; habet haec ant
9 de *om*
12 cum *om*; plurimum *pro* pulchrum; fit *pro* sit
13 in antiphona hac; Paganorum multitudo
20 repercutiantur

GFDGaGc bc d cb b d e d cbc a
21 *cum neumis in lineis* Quos fe-cisti veritatis lu-men
GaFDG cGaE DGFaaGa FE DE E
ag - - - - - - - nosce - re
22 Ita *pro* Item; super *pro* si per; descendit
23 *sine neumis vel litt* ♭
F GaFGD CFFabaF GFD aacdcba GaFGaabaFG DDC
24 *cum neumis in lineis* proces - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - sit
26 horum *pro* eorum

Capitulum XX *fol* 22^{r}
Tit alia manu; poscit *pro* possunt
2 suprascriptis scribas collocato
6 *Titulum Cap* XXI *hic ponit*; et *pro* atque
10 ac *pro* atque
11 id quod... ordinem *om*
12 parhypate meson *suprascr.* f.; ut *pro* tu
13 supponamus

E DE GaG a GFE DE E E F D E FD C D F
14 *cum litt suprascr* Nuncius celso veniens o-limpo te patri magnum fore
GFE DE E E Gac aG ac a G a GFG GFE Da aG FE DE E E
na- sci-turum no-men et vitae seri-em ge-rendae or-di-ne promit
16 Wido

Capitulum XXI *fol* 23^{r}
Tit alia manu; Widone
1 hoc *om*
9 semitonium *pro* semiditonum
11 alio modo *pro* aliter
14 legalibus
15 etenim; syllaba faciunt
16 hypaton *suprascr* .D.
17 emittunt *om*
18 eius dictionis; primam *om*; emittant *suprascr* con
19 volunt

DAΓAABCDCD DDEF GFDFED DCFC DAΓA ABCDCDEFG
20 *cum neumis in lineis* Col - - - - le - - - ge - - - - - - -
FD Γ A CB C D D E DE DEFGFED DFED D DADCBA CΓ
runt pontifi-ces et pharisei con - - - - ci-li - - um
FEF DG G aGac c cd c ded c bcaG cc c c F a GaG EF
21 Be - a -tus ser -vus quem cum ve -nerit do-minus invene - rit.
G a GaG EF G b aba GG
Alii autem Invene- rit. Alii autem Invene- rit (*cum neumis in lineis*);
Hic levis error
22 diezeugmenon *suprascr* .c.; mese *suprascr* .a.; parhypate meson *suprascr* .F.; lichanos *suprascr* .G.
23 autem *om*; mese *suprascr* .a.; lichanos *suprascr* .G.
24 hypate meson *suprascr* .E.; parhypate meson *suprascr* .F.
25 cantent; aguarino
26 Sed *om*
29 ibi etiam
34 *fol* 24^{r}; neumas *suprascr* id est usuanas; notis *suprascr* id est c.l.s

38 caute, cito, clamose
40 irregularibus ; intimare breviter
41 magnus sive pusillus
42 tantam
43 canere per se
49 adiungas
51 mentionem *pro* intensionem
53 huiuscemodi ; meta *suprascr* claves C.F
54 esse laboribus
57 evitare ; quos *pro* qui
58 unaquaeque *bis om*
59 varietates *pro* semitonia ; in *om*
61 duas has

Capitulum XXII *fol* 25^{v}
Tit alia manu
1 usus in his
2 constat ; unus *om*
6 interdum *om*
9 hypate meson *suprascr* .E. ; lichanos meson *suprascr* .G. ; mese *suprascr* .a.
10 paramese suprascr .b. ; sumit principium
dc dbbcd aG
11 ro-ga - -vi ; ȳ *om* ; et sanguis *sine neumis*
12 quem *pro* quod
13 ut ultima ; parhypate meson *suprascr* .F. ; paranete diezeugmenon *suprascr* .d.
Gc bcd df d cdcc c c bcac FG
14 Bethle-em ci-tas domina - tor
d cdc bc dfdc dfdcdfdcdcd
In ter-ra no - stra
16 lichanos meson *suprascr* .G. ; competenter
FE FG GFGaaED FE aG GFGaG aGFEFE
17 ne-sci- e - - bam ; Cumque ; evigilasset *om*
18 etiam *om* ; hypolydii *suprascr* VI ; lichanos hypaton *suprascr* .D.
20 parhypate hypaton *suprascr* .C. ; canere *pro* cantare
22 offertorium illud
24 lichanos meson *suprascr* .G.
26 tamen *pro* praeterea
27 Domine v.q.c.a. etc.
31 poterunt ; istud
G a cbccb dcdbccb a b c egefg d dcdcdbc cd d cd dcba cdaGF G
32 In di - - - e solemnita- - tis ; lac et mel al-le lu ia
33 est etiam *om* ; mese *suprascr* .a. ; paranete *suprascr* .d.
34 et *om* ; hoc *pro* eo
ba a a aF Ga aGa aGaGF GFED DFGFFE
35 sunt in cogi-ta-ti-o - - -ni - bus
36 in medio indiget
37 lichanos hypaton *suprascr* .D. ; lichanos meson *suprascr* .G. ; est *om*
38 qui Ei in ; trite diezeugmenon *suprascr* .c.
39 mese *suprascr* .a.
40 parhypate meson *suprascr* .F.
41 conturbant ; lichanos meson *suprascr* .G.
42 mese *suprascr* .a. ; parhypate meson *suprascr* .F. ; incipiendum est in *om* ; meum *om*
GDEF acc ccc aG
44 meum ; su - - per
45 parhypate *suprascr* .C.
46 Sed etiam in ; parhypate *suprascr* .C.
FFcd c
48 do mus
51 ad *om*

53 quando saeculorum amen
54 est *om* ; asscribuntur
56 et *om* ; institutas
59 Saeculorum Amen — O beatum pontificem *cum litt suprascr*
a a G D F E D C D E F E G
61 Saeculorum Amen Nos qui vivi-mus
64 sint primi toni
69 est *om*
71 rusticanibus
72 *litt similes ad* Be E_1
75 *cum neumis*
76 et in ; parhypate meson *suprascr* .F.
78 nullo

Capitulum XXIII *fol* 28r
Tit alia manu
1 hac re quoque
9 distropham tristropham *cum neumis suprascr*
11 Sed ipsa
14 et minus acutus
D F E FG GF D EF DF D D C DF F FD FG FG FG D D
20 Ancilla Christi sum i-de - o me ostendo servi -lem personam
E G F Ga FG E Ga FG E G E Ga a aG Fa Ga GF E E
21 convenientiam
23 itaque *pro* ita
24 mutuum *pro* motuum
28 autem *om*
a a G G F G FG D D
31 Laudate Dominum de coelis
D F G ♭ a G Ga c d
32 praeterea *pro* etiam
39 et *pro* nec
41 responsorium ; antiphona ; et talia etc.
48 ac de differentiis ; disseramus. Explicit

Corrigenda in CSM I

p. 56 n. 17 oblectaretur *pro* oblectaretus
p. 59 n. 3 Nondum *pro* nondam
p. 77 n. 12 incongruum *pro* incongruem
p. 108 n. 30 *ante* nonnulli *legendum est* 31 *ante* cum potius 32
p. 120 n. 4 quinta *pro* quinto
p. 141 n. 54 laboribus *pro* laboris
p. 154 n. 59 *in apparatu critico supra be*-atum F
p. 154 n 61 *in exemplo musico* Saeculorum *pro* Seaculorum

CONCERNING THE ORIGINS OF THE RONDEAU, VIRELAI AND BALLADE FORMS

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The four main authorities who have dealt with the origins of the Romance lyric are Jeanroy, Gennrich, Verrier and Spanke, but very many scholars have debated various aspects of the problem, largely without arriving at any permanent solutions. One may well agree then with Spanke's remark, confirmed by Jeanroy, that « the problem of the origins of the Romance lyric, so far as the content of the poetry is concerned, is apparently doomed to remain a problem for the present » [1]. However, with respect to the form of medieval song, he sees more hope of definite results. « Firstly, because by judicious investigation (Fragestellung) precise and unequivocal data concerning the wealth of Gallo-Roman songforms may be acquired. Secondly, because these data, on account of their very preciseness, are excellent for comparing the forms found in France with those in neighbouring territories ». [2]

The origins of the Rondeau, Virelai and Ballade forms will now be examined individually, though it is to be noted that some authorities attribute a common origin to all three. The investigation is made in the light of the principle books of the four authorities named above. All four scholars have made important contributions towards solving the problem of the origins of the Rondeau. Their theories are not necessarily different, but are sometimes complementary.

Jeanroy's theory was first propounded in 1889, and so it is not surprising that some of his hypotheses are now outmoded. He himself admitted in his preface to the third edition of his great work « Les Origines de la poésie lyrique en France au moyen-âge » that he no longer held some of the views he had formerly upheld ; but he retained the original text of the book nevertheless. In general Jeanroy occupies himself more with the subject-matter of the early Romance lyric than with its forms, and his main thesis is based

[1] H. Spanke, *Beziehungen zwischen romanischen und mittellateinischer Lyrik*, Berlin (1936), 1.
[2] *Idem.*

on the idea that the earliest vernacular lyric poems in France are lost, so that consequently traces of the early lost poems must be sought in the literatures of neighbouring countries, if they cannot be found later in France. This fundamental idea is of course a hypothesis, and as such must be treated with caution. Later writers like Verrier and Spanke are of the opinion that the old French vernacular lyric was for the most part derived from Middle Latin poetry, and this theory, based on a comparative study of poems in both languages, is probably more sound than one which, like so many of the late nineteenth century hypotheses, is based on a lost literary heritage.

According to Jeanroy, the Rondeau form is the outcome of the dance called the 'carole', about which practically nothing was known till very recently. Actually the word 'carole' refers to both song and dance. The dance seems to have been formed of a chain of people who sometimes moved in a line and sometimes formed a circle. It was extraordinarily popular in the Middle Ages. As far as the Rondeau is concerned, Jeanroy seems to have little doubt that in its earlier form, of which no examples have come down, it was a direct expression of folk sentiments, though he admits that the first extant specimens of the Rondeau are already highly conventionalised and no longer popular in flavour. Gaston Paris too finds popular festivities behind very many medieval dance songs, for which there is some justification [3]. May constantly recurs in medieval lyrics, and in the Provençal « A'l'entrada del tems clar » the May Queen appears, though already changed into a 'mal mariée'. Paris finds much in common between the medieval round-dances and those of the ancient Greeks, and traces the verb 'caroler' and its substantive to the Greek Χοραυλεῖν [4]. Sachs, the authority on the dance, finds that the only possible derivation is the Latin 'corolla' or little crown [5]. However, a recent study of the word 'carole' suggests that the most satisfactory etymon is 'Kyrie Eleison' [6].

Using the now well-worn and not necessarily unsound technique which traces the simple from the complex, Jeanroy maintains that the original, primitive Rondeaux probably consisted of a line of verse for a soloist followed by a line as refrain for a chorus [7]. This process would of course be carried on for some time. The part

[3] G. Paris, *Mélanges de littérature française du moyen âge p. p.* M. Roques, Paris (1912), 597.

[4] *Idem*, 589 f.

[5] C. Sachs, *World History of the Dance*, New York, (1937), 271.

[6] M. Sahlin, *Étude sur la carole médiévale*, Uppsala, (1940) Chapter IV (i).

[7] A. Jeanroy in Petit de Julleville's, *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature française*, Paris, (1896), I, 360.

played by soloist and chorus in the performance of a song is evident from the alternation between verse and refrain which is so clear a feature of Rondeau form, medieval or modern. For his example of the form Jeanroy chooses Adam de la Halle's « Hareu ! li maus d'amer m'ochist » [8], which is in fact no early example of the Rondeau, but shows the classic form ABaAa♭AB. It is a bad choice, for not only is it one of the first examples of a polyphonic Rondeau, but it leads Jeanroy to the conclusion that all Rondeaux were probably provided with refrains at the beginning as well as at the end of the stanza. This assumption is very attractive, since all fourteenth century and most thirteenth century Rondeaux were constructed in this manner ; but it would seem to be untenable as far as the more primitive Rondeau forms are concerned.

While Jeanroy is no musician, Gennrich, who is both musician and philologist, sees how much the music has previously been neglected and points out the importance of it in determining the form of a song. He supports this by many examples in his « Grundriss einer Formenlehre des mittelalterlichen Liedes », but it may be said that he errs in attributing so much importance to the music of medieval song. This mistake is very natural when music of the Middle Ages has been so long neglected by scholars, but although sometimes the form of a song can only be fully determined by analysing the music this is by no means always true [9]. Music and poetry do usually go hand in hand in the Middle Ages, but the form of a song may be determined by either partner, or even by both individually, in which case a hybrid form results.

At this point it is worth noticing that, although music nearly always accompanied lyric poetry in the Middle Ages, the connection between melody and verse was by no means as close as many writers have assumed. Without mentioning the example of Machaut, who himself relates that he later set to music poems he had written without music long before, one may observe that many troubadour and trouvère lyrics are provided with different melodies in different manuscripts, while on the other hand one melody may be found at different times and places with different sets of words. This proves at least that the poet did not consider one melody as the only suitable one for his verse nor did the musician consider his music as only suited to one set of words. In any case most medieval songs were strophic, which means that each strophe was set to the same music, and it is very frequently found that the first stanza of these songs is the only one in which the music illustrates or even

[8] A. Jeanroy, *Ler Origines de la poésie française lyrique en France*, Paris, 3rd ed., (1925), 406.

[9] Cf. F. Gennrich, *Grundriss einer Formenlehre des mittelalterlichen Liedes*, Halle, (1926), 26.

fits the mood of the words [10]. Moreover the Latin ' contrafacta ' of secular songs, pieces resulting from the adaptation to a melody of a text other than the original one, often have words differing completely from those with which their melodies were originally provided.

As far as the Rondeau is concerned, Gennrich continues to utilise Jeanroy's theory that in the first place the form was a primitive one of folk origin, sung as an accompaniment to the dance. In fact he explicitly states that « it is the only song-form for which, up to the present, no ecclesiastical original can be found » [11]. Thus he still maintains the popular origin of the dance-song, though in all other forms of medieval song he can trace ecclesiastical forbears in the form of hymns, sequences, etc. His interpretation of Johannes de Grocheo's description of the dance-song seems to be that the refrain was sung by a chorus, and the ' additamenta ', that is the additional lines of verse, by a soloist [12]. This is still of course the Jeanroy theory in essentials, though in 1889 Grocheo's treatise was unknown.

Spanke's studies of the old French and late Latin strophic forms began to appear before Verrier's comprehensive work on the same subject was published [13], but as Spanke was influenced by Verrier, the latter's theory of the origin of the Rondeau will be discussed first. The results of a lifetime's research went into Verrier's work, for he was versed in music as well as Romance and Teutonic philology. His theories on the medieval dance break fresh ground indeed, even though they are based on an instruction book published in 1588, none other than the well-known « Orchésographie » of Thoinot Arbeau.

Since neither ' romans, romances, ballades ' nor ' pastourelles ' give any indication of the nature of the steps of the ' carole ', it is legitimate to draw what conclusions one can from the very clear accounts written by Arbeau about the ' branle ', the later French form of the ' carole '. The importance of the facts Verrier brings forward resides in the clear relations which can be traced between the rhythm of the medieval ' carole ' and the sixteenth century ' branle '. If certain steps in the ' branle ' as described by Arbeau may be modifications of the patterns used in the ' carole ', there are too many features which coincide in both old and new forms for doubt to be possible as to their identity. Indeed, the old forms of the ' carole ' can be reconstructed from the metrical structure of the Rondeau and its related forms, at least as far as the number of steps is concerned.

[10] Cf. T. Gérold, *La Musique au moyen-âge*, Paris, (1932), 165.
[11] *Formenlehre*, 62.
[12] J. Wolf, *Die « Musiklehre des Johannes de Grocheo »*, in *SIMG* I, (1809), 95.
[13] *Le Vers Français*, 3 vols., Paris, (1931 etc.).

The basic elements and main forms of the ' branle ' were, according to Arbeau, the ' branle double ' and the ' branle simple ', both of which always began the dance. The melody of the ' branle double ' consisted of « deux temps de mesure binaire » [14] for each of the eight simple steps. A similar manifestation of eight bars divided into two groups of four is to be found in the older French lyric repertoire, e. g. « C'est tót la giéus el gláiol ái — tenéz moi, dáme, ténez mói ». This form is symetrically octosyllabic, but other forms may occur such as 7 + 7, 8 + 6 (feminime six-syllable) or 7 + 5. — The ' branle simple ' had a melody consisting of a series of four stressed beats, « deux temps de mesure binaire », and a series of two, e. g. « Biau sé pará, mieus sé vestí — desóz le rám ». This produces an eight-syllable line plus a four-syllable line.

Of the greatest interest here are the possible combinations of both types of ' branle ', e. g. ' double + simple ' (8 + 8 + 8 + 4), and ' double + 2 simples ' (8 + 8 + 8 + 4 + 8 + 4). The latter is in fact identical in rhythm with many ' rondeaux de caroles ', and supplies a most satisfying explanation of the origin of the form. Instead of basing everthing on the idea that the ' refrain ' is the original part of the poem, the rest of the verse only being inserted later, or that the refrain was split up, Verrier explains the structure of the song simply by the steps and hence by the rhythm of the dance.

After this, he investigates more closely the question of the origin and structure of the dance-song. He maintains that in the ' maieroles ' or primitive May festivities the dance was accompanied by a ' couplet de danse '. This consisted of two lines, each with a caesura, that is two ' grands vers ', or of four lines joined two by two, that is four ' petits vers '. These two (or virtually two) lines of poetry and music, especially the second, more subjective line, were no doubt varied slightly in the course of time, instead of being repeated exactly and incessantly as in Jeanroy's primitive form. That is to say that the ' couplet de danse ' would be repeated over and over as long as the dance required it, but as society became more sophisticated slight variations could be introduced in verse or melody during the course of the dance. With the rise of the dance-song, Verrier believes these ' couplets de danse ' were taken over as ' préludes ', that is as the opening refrain of the ' chanson de carole '. The presence of isolated ' refrains ' in ' romans ' and other long poems is thus accounted for.

This is not the place to pursue Verrier's argument further, especially since he himself says, « Ici il ne s'agit ancunement d'une histoire de nos vieilles strophes, mais d'aperçus destinés à éclairer leurs rapports

[14] *Orchésographie*, f. 68v and 69.

entre elles et avec celles de poésiés étrangères »[15], but his importance in connection with the work of Spanke needs to be taken into consideration. Spanke was one of the more recent students of the origins of the Romance lyric, and believed that the French Rondeau was, to say the least, very greatly influenced by its Latin counterpart. Fresh vigour was imparted to his theory by the work of Verrier, which showed that the Rondeau form a A a b A B was built up of a A plus a b A B, and not of a refrain A B plus a part refrain A, upon which inserted lines a a b were constructed. The precise proof offered by Verrier makes it unnecessary to look into Gennrich's arguments opposing Spanke's musical form a a + b c b c[16]. In fairness to Gennrich, however, it is essential to realise that the Latin Rondeaux still in existence are to be found in the big Florence MS Bibl. Law. Plut. 29, I, and thus may not be much earlier, if at all earlier, than the earliest known French Rondeaux. (Later Latin Rondeaux in polyphonic form, such as are found in England in the Worcester MS do not, of course, enter into the question). Nevertheless, Spanke maintains with reason that the latin Rondeaux are less ornamented than the earliest French Rondeau melodies now in existence, and hence are possibly more ancient than, for instance, reconstructions from motets. However, he explicitly states that the origin of the Rondeau form does not necessarily lie in the latin Rondeau[17].

Spanke has no time for lost, vernacular, lyric ' Urformen ' (archetypal forms), and declares categorically that only two sources come into consideration as far as the origins of the Romance lyric are concerned. One is the oriental, the other the latin strophic art. He dismisses the oriental theory somewhat perfunctorily, and concentrates on the comparison between late latin poems and old French lyrics in the vernacular. He is of the opinion that the songs of the trouvères and troubadours were a direct outgrowth from the latin poems set to music in the Middle Ages. However, he does not consider the music of prime importance in determining the form of a song, and in this he differs from Gennrich. In fact, though he admits that musical exigencies do sometimes determine the song-form, he maintains that such cases are exceptional, and that normally the verse-structure is the deciding factor. If metrical and musical forms vary with the song, however, this is an acknowledged feature of medieval technique. Fixed forms were not defined till the fourteenth century.

One of the greatest centres of church music during the early days of polyphony was the Limousin, and it is this district, bordering on the territories of the ' langue d'oc ' and the ' langue d'oïl ',

[15] P. Verrier, *Le Vers français*, I, 170.
[16] *Formenlehre*, 63.
[17] H. Spanke, *Beziehungen zwischen romanischen und mittellateinischen Lyrik*, 109.

which is generally considered to have given birth to troubadour song [18]. Spanke traces all but one of the strophic poems of Guillaume IX d'Aquitaine to St. Martial 'conducti' written down at Limoges c. 1100 [19]. Melodies from St. Martial also fit poems by Guillaume for which no music has been preserved.

Spanke believes that the Rondeau form A A A B A B is an unnecessary refinement, and not a basic form., in proof of which he quotes the latin Rondeau « Felix dies et grata » and the French « Main se leva bele Aelis », which have an essentially identical structure (A A/B B). The independence of the second section from the first is relatively often to be found. The musical form A A A B A B was also not often utilised in the history of the Rondeau, even where the rhyme had this form (a a a b a b), and this in spite of the favour in which the Rondeau form was held for non-dance songs. Spanke finds the oldest and most essential form of the Rondeau in poems of Marcabru and Guillaume IX, which, while they lack refrains, possess rhymes a a a b a b or a a b b a [20].

If it is difficult to trace the origins of the Virelai, since it is so like the Rondeau, and may thus simply be a variant of this form, the earliest traces of the Virelai are quite as old as those of the Rondeau. Certainly the Virelai form had no special name in the thirteenth century, and seems to have been classed with the Rondeaux. The word Virelai is found in the thirteenth century but only with a general significance, being no doubt derived from some folk refrain phrase like « Sus, sus au virelin, sus, sus au virelai » [21]. Even in the fourteenth century, the Virelai form was not always called by that name, and Machaut wished to name it the 'chanson baladée'. Various reasons for this name have been suggested, but it is doubtful whether the right solution will be discovered, though it is no doubt true that the Virelai is a 'chanson' with Ballade traits.

Jeanroy has little to say of importance concerning the origins of the Virelai, and he only discusses the fourteenth century form. However, since he wrote on this subject in 1889, a new theory has provoked much debate. This oriental theory is concerned with the influence of Arab poetry and music on European song in the Middle Ages, and has been strongly supported by the solid erudition of Arabic scholars like Ribera and Farmer. The argument is this. So many early Spanish and Portuguese songs are cast in the Virelai form that it seems only natural to wonder whether the form itself could be oriental in origin. The powerful influence of the Arabs in

[18] G. Paris, *Mélanges*, 609.

[19] H. Spanke, *Beziehungen*, 3.

[20] « Ben vuelh que sapchon li pluzor » (Guillaume IX), and « Dirai vos en mon lati » (Marcabru).

[21] Bartsch, *Romanzen und Pastourellen*, Leipzig, (1870), 292.

introducing instruments into Western Europe during the Middle Ages needs no stressing here. Why should there not be a similar influence in the forms of troubadour and trouvère song? As it happens, an Arabian form of lyric poetry called the ' zajal ' does resemble the Virelai to a considerable degree. Ribera, Farmer and others believe this to have been the source of the typical, medieval, vocal monodies of the peninsula [22].

Unfortunately, several things militate against this argument, which is far too simple. In the first place, the lost heritage of song again comes into question. This, according to Ribera, formed the transition between the Arabic ' zajal ' and the Provençal-French-Western European Virelai. Secondly, we possess no Arabic musical manuscripts. Thirdly, the ' zajal ' is no ancient form, but the popular form of the courtly ' muachchah ' invented in the eleventh century by Obada al Quazzaz [23]. Fourthly, the fact that the Virelai and the ' zajal ' have a form A B A proves little. So have many other types of music. Finally, Anglès has discovered latin ' conducti ' in the musical form of the Virelai, dating from about a century before the ' Cantigas ', namely « Salve, virgo, regia » and « Cedit frigus hiemale ». Thus it may very well have been the church once again which, as Spanke will have it, gave birth to the Virelai. It may also be mentioned that one or two peninsular songs in Rondeau form have been discovered.

Pursuing this point further, it may well have been the Rondeau or Virelai that contributed to make the ' zajal ' the favourite strophic form of Ibn Gûzman, the famous wandering poet of the twelfth century. Gennrich agrees that a form very similar to the Virelai is present in the ' Cancionero ' of Abencuzman (Ibn Gûzman), but asserts that the triple division of the ' stollen ', ccc instead of cc, was completely impossible in the thirteenth century Virelai (though it should be noted that a century later Machaut's Virelai 14, a hybrid, has such a division). « The Virelai form has developed organically from the Rondeau form » [24]. In his « Formenlehre » Gennrich traces this development, and according to the degree by which one form predominates over the other, he calls it « Rondeau-artiges Virelai » or « Virelai-artiges Rondeau » (Rondeau-like Virelai or Virelai-like Rondeau). It never occurs to him that they might be considered as one and the same form. Indeed, the clever interaction of musical and poetic forms sometimes creates hybrids which are difficult to classify.

[22] G. Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages*, New York, (1940), 246. See also the wealth of evidence in R. Briffault, *Les Troubadours et le sentiment romanesque*, Paris, (1945).

[23] *La musique des origines à nos jours*, ed. N. Dufourq, Paris, (1946), 78a.

[24] F. Gennrich, *Zur Ursprungsfrage des Minnesangs*, in Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte, VII (1929), 209.

The Provençal 'dansa' has a structure which in general very much resembles the Virelai form. In fact Meyer in 1890 believed that the 'dansa' passed into French poetry as the 'vireli' or 'virelai'. This opinion can scarcely be accepted today, since the 'dansa' in the form in which we know it « ne paraît antérieure au milieu du XIIIe siècle », to use Meyer's own words [25]. Jeanroy subjoins his description of the 'dansa' to that of the Virelai, but says nothing about any connection between the two [26]. In his rather late form of the 'dansa' it should be noted that there is no refrain at the end of the stanza, though it still exists at the beginning, and that the end of the stanza and the 'tornada' must fit the rhymes and metrical structure of the refrain. The form was popular in the fourteenth and fifteenth century.

The origins of the Ballade were not very well explained at the end of the nineteenth century. Jeanroy included the Provençal 'ballada', the Italian 'ballata' and the Portuguese form corresponding to it in his discussion of the 'ballette' (ballade). This is surely a strange mixture, since these forms have little in common but their names, and it is well known that the Italian 'ballata', a fourteenth century form, coincided in its musical structure with the french Virelai. The word 'ballette' was used at the end of the nineteenth century to designate the thirteenth century North French Ballade form with three strophes. It was a bad choice, for, as Stengel showed long ago, only in one MS is the word to be found, and there only in the Incipit, Explicit and Index [27]. It is thus of a later date than the poems to which it refers.

Jeanroy believed that the Rondeau and Ballade forms were both developed from a primitive 'chanson à danser'. However, the Ballade, in his opinion, differed from the Rondeau in size and place of origin. It had three strophes while the Rondeau had only one. It came from the south, as its name, derived from the Provençal 'balada', indicates. « La ballette est donc en somme (sauf la présence du refrain au début) identique à une rotrouenge qui serait réduite à trois couplets » [28].

Unfortunately, Jeanroy's theory, like that of Stengel, who believed in a three-strophe 'Urform', suffers from its age and from the use of the arbitrary method, condemned by Gennrich, of arriving at the desired known form by means of an unknown form.

[25] P. Meyer, *Des Rapports de la poésie des trouvères avec celle des troubadours*, in Romania XIX (1890), 21.

[26] A. Jeanroy, *Origines*, 430.

[27] H. L. Cohen, *The Ballade*, New York, (1919), 17 (footnote).

[28] A. Jeanroy in « Petit de Julleville », *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature française*, I, 382.

The fact that the fourteenth century Ballade was a three-strophe form does not necessarily indicate that the thirteenth century form was constructed in like manner. Indeed, the fixing of the number of strophes was no doubt due to the influence of the ' Puys ', the guilds of poets and musicians who laid down the rules of composition and gave prizes to worthy artists, all in very much the same way as the later Meistersinger. It is significant that Jeanroy, who suggests that the Italian ' ballata ' used the same form as the Provençal ' balada ', says : « seulement le nombre des couplets n'est pas limité » [29]. In reality they were not limited in the ' langue d'oïl » either.

Gennrich follows Jeanroy in considering the Ballade a variant of the Rondeau in form. However, he does not mention the influence of the Provençal ' chanson ', which often clearly resembles the fourteenth century Ballade musically as well as metrically. For example, Bernart de Ventadorn's " Be m'au perdut " [30] has a musical form almost identical with that of certain Machaut Ballades, viz. ababcd *b*, though Machaut rarely reproduces the phrase b in full on its final appearance in the stanza. Other significant features of Bernart's song are the seven-line stanza with two musically identical " stollen ", and the decasyllabic line. Whether the Provençal ' chanson ' influenced the ' Rondeau-artiges Ballade ', as one may call the Gennrich Ballade-type, or whether the fourteenth century French Ballade developed directly from the ' chanson ' is unlikely to be determined. But Gennrich's solution, that the fourteenth century Ballade is the thirteenth century form without the refrain at the beginning, is by no means above suspicion. The rarity of the form AB cd cd ef AB in the thirteenth century is one reason for this doubt. Another is that, whereas this form resembles the Rondeau in essentials, it is the thirteenth century ' chanson ' which often resembles the Ballade in essentials.

The ' chanson ' is described by Gennrich as a derivative of the ' vers ', which has its roots in the Ambrosian Hymn. The characteristic, repeated phrase at the beginning of the song is certainly found in Syrian and Ambrosian chant, but Gennrich's argumentation for the development of the ' chanson ' from the ' vers ' is puerile in the extreme, and he seems dubious about it himself. He says, « From this Hymn-form has issued the so-called ' canzo ' (chanson) strophe, still one of the most popular song-forms. The first section of the melody was placed before the melody as a whole, and thus a repetition of the first melodic section occured » [31]. This argumenta-

[29] A. Jeanroy, *Origines*, 403 f.
[30] *Formenlehre*, 240 etc.
[31] *Formenlehre*, 245 etc.

tion is a direct contradiction of Gennrich's own principle. He is using the addition method he condemns when he says the first melodic phrase was repeated instead of only being sung once.

Seeing that the origin of the 'chanson' form is already visible in the Ambrosian Hymns, the further explanation is in any case superflous as well as incorrect. What is interesting is the discovery that features of the fourteenth century Ballade occur both in the earlier 'chanson' forms and in many Syrian Hymns [32]. For example, the identity of the melody at the end of the 'stollen' and at the end of the whole stanza may be found in all three forms.

Gennrich does distinguish between the 'Kanzone' (chanson) and the 'Rundkanzone' (rounded chanson), which has the same melody at the end of the 'stollen' and the end of the whole stanza [33], but one feels the two forms are really one and the same. In fact discrepancies begin to appear as soon as classification is carried too far. Gennrich avoids the musical form ab ab cd E, which is that of the fourteenth century Ballade, but he includes the form ab ab c d, which is that of a six-line Ballade without refrain (or should one say a seven-line Ballade?), among the 'chansons'.

Spanke is no more able to accept Gennrich's theory that the Ballade is formally a development of the Rondeau than he can accept the idea that the Virelai is a derivative of it. « If we glimpse the essence of the Rondeau principally in the rhythmic framework created by the dance-form, and not in the musical structure, nor even in the disposition of rhymes, all these forms appear as evidence not (only) of the existence but also of the formal freedom of this type of dance-song in the earliest period of Romance poetry » [34]. He then gives a list of later trouvère songs and 'conducti', which show a form deviating more or less from the normal Rondeau form. Some differ musically, others metrically. It is interesting to note that the song « En tous tens se doit fins cuers résjouir », Raynaud No. 1405, called a 'balade' by its author Guillaume le Vinier, and written before 1227, is most definitely a Rondeau according to Spanke, since its form is

$$a_{10}\ a_{10}\ a_{10}\ b_5,\ C_{10}\ B_5,\ \text{melody A A B C / B C.}$$

Again, Guibert Kaukesel calls his song « Un chant nouvel vaurai faire chanter » a 'barade', which Spanke says is Gascon for 'balade'. Though probably inspired by le Vinier's song, it only resembles the Rondeau form at all in the music AA BC / DC. These two examples

[32] H. Besseler, *Die Musik des Mittelaltersund und der Renaissance*, Postdam, (1931-1934), 48.
[33] Formenlehre, 245.
[34] H. Spanke, *Beziehungen*, 114 f.

are in accord with opinion that ' balade ' signified simply any kind of dance-song in the thirteenth century [35].

After this investigation into the origins of the Rondeau, Virelai and Ballade forms, we may draw one or two more or less satisfying conclusions. Concerning the Rondeau, we find that (a) the French and latin Rondeau existed simultaneously, (b) there may or may not have been a vernacular original, (c) if there was it was probably represented by the ' couplet de danse ' as its earliest form, and (d) the form of the dance-song was determined in the first place by the steps of the dance, but was by no means fixed.

The Virelai form seems to have been originally a variant of the Rondeau, but like the latter it is found in early ' conducti ', and hence may have been entirely independent from the beginning.

Perhaps Heinrich Besseler sums up the situation with regard to the Ballade in his usual brief but accurate manner when he says, « The trouvère ' chanson ' is combined with the ' chanson à refrain ' in the Ballade, just as, in general, through the medium of the minstrel, medieval song and the oldest motets were invaded by the refrain principle in every conceivable form » [36].

Note. In my previous article, on p. 36 of the present vol., I stated that there were three Ballades and three Rondeaux with music in Machaut's *Voir Dit.* This should of course read : four Ballades and three Rondeaux.

[35] At this point the author would like to suggest a fresh point of departure for investigation of the Ballade form, namely the sequence. If the last double versicle of a sequence represents the Stollen, and the Cauda the Abgesang and refrain, the result would seem to be a Ballade. Cf. Gennrich on the third lai-segment group, Formenlehre, 222 f. However, it has been noted that the Stollen principle is already present in Syrian hymnody (on previous page).

[36] H. Besseler, *Die Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, 120.

A UNIQUE TUDOR ORGAN MASS

DENIS STEVENS (*London*)

The art of the Tudor organists, like that of the Elizabethan madrigalists several generations later, flowered, came to fruition, and faded in a remarkably short space of time. There is no reason, at present, to suppose that it was in any way an indigenous art ; indeed, the small and sorry handful of evidence, both documentary and musical, which managed to survive the ravages of the Reformation seems to indicate that the art of organ-playing was at a low ebb in England at the turn of the century, and that such English exponents as then existed were roused to activity only by the example of foreign visitors. One of these visitors was a certain Nicolo Sagudino, who was secretary to the Venetian ambassador in London, and who wrote home from time to time giving detailed accounts of music at the court of Henry VIII. Sagudino's proficiency as a keyboard player was well-known in his own particular circle of acquaintances, and it was they who brought him to the notice of Henry's courtiers, so that ultimately the King himself was informed. It may not be a complete coincidence that a brilliant Venetian organist, complete with instrument, arrived in London less than fifteen months after Sagudino had complained that two of the King's musicians played the organ very badly [1].

The Venetian, who was none other than the organist of St. Mark's, Dionysio Memo, soon had the entire court in raptures. Cardinal Wolsey, still glowing from his recent appointment as Lord Chancellor, invited him to give a recital which was so successful that it had to be repeated in the presence of the King. According to the Venetian ambassador, Memo 'played to the incredible admiration of everybody, especially of the King (who is well skilled in music) and of the two Queens' [2].

Once again, it may not be a coincidence to find that the earliest indications of the existence of a genuinely English organ school

[1] « They kept bad time, their touch was feeble, and their execution not very good ». (Sagudino to Foscari, June 6th 1515). Transcribed in *Calendar of State Papers* (*Venetian*), II, 248.

[2] Giustiniani to the Signory, Sept. 30th 1516.

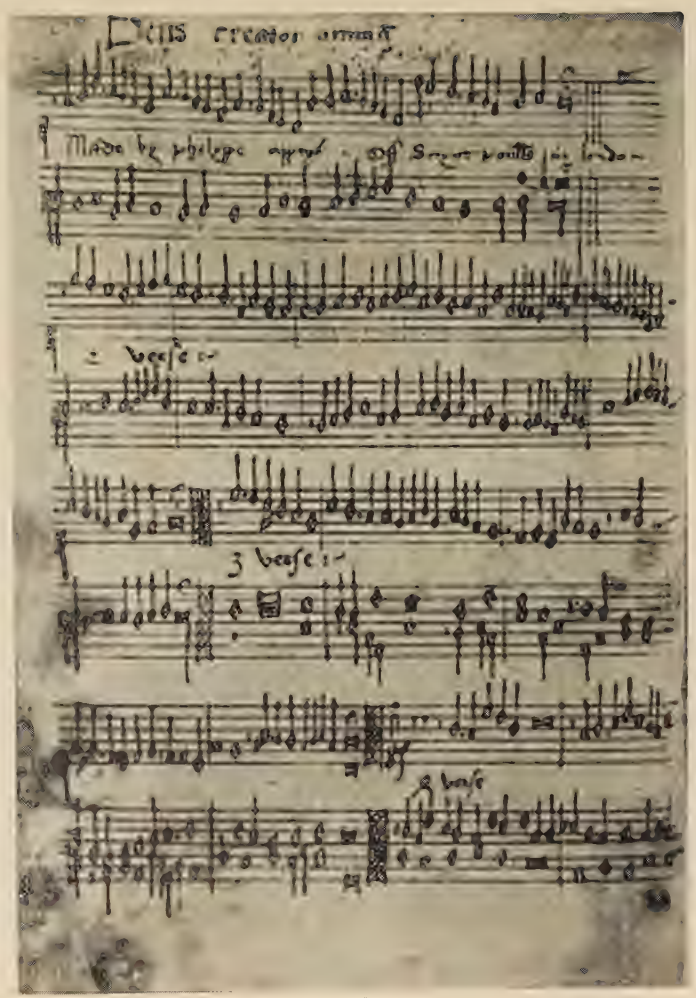
appear shortly after the arrival of Memo. A tentative chronology of the principal manuscript sources has been advanced by Apel [3], who dates B. M. Roy. App. 56 and B. M. Roy. App. 58 *circa* 1520. Of these two manuscripts, the former is undoubtedly an organ book which was at one time used during actual services. It contains, besides settings of the Offertory *Felix namque* and the antiphon *Miserere mihi Domine* [4], a *Kyrie* and a *Christe* (f. 15) which are certainly fragments of a lost organ Mass. In style, these two pieces are not unlike the music of certain organ tablatures which have come down to us in fragmentary form from fifteenth-century Germany : the so-called Sagan and Winsem manuscripts[5]. It is all the more unfortunate, therefore, that they do not supply sufficient material to enable us to reconstruct an *alternatim* scheme for the complete Kyrie, which by a strange freak of fortune is not only the section of the organ Mass to appear first in the literature of the English organists, but also the one which appears last — in a Kyrie by John Bull, probably written towards the end of the sixteenth century, and preserved now in the library of the Paris Conservatoire (Rés. 1122, p. 58). The difference in texture alone between Bull's music and that of the anonymous of Roy. App. 56 is sufficient to suggest that they were separated by at least half a century, and probably more. Only one other significant fragment is known in this period : a solitary *Agnus Dei* by John Redford, preserved in the library of Christ Church, Oxford (Ms. 371, f. 16). Its bare, two-part writing, with cantus firmus decked out by florid passage-work, again recalls the early German school, which probably antedates Redford's work by as many years as the newly-discovered Bonadies Codex antedates the organ music of the Winsem, Sagan, and Buxheim manuscripts [6]. The available sources at our disposal hint that the organ Mass found its earliest outlet in Italy, that it was taken up by German composers, and that it did not appear in France and England until the sixteenth century. Subsequently France was to extend and develop the organ Mass into a great school of composition, among whom the greatest luminaries were Le Bègue, Raison, de Grigny, and Couperin le Grand.

[3] *The Notation of Polyphonic Music*, p. 8.

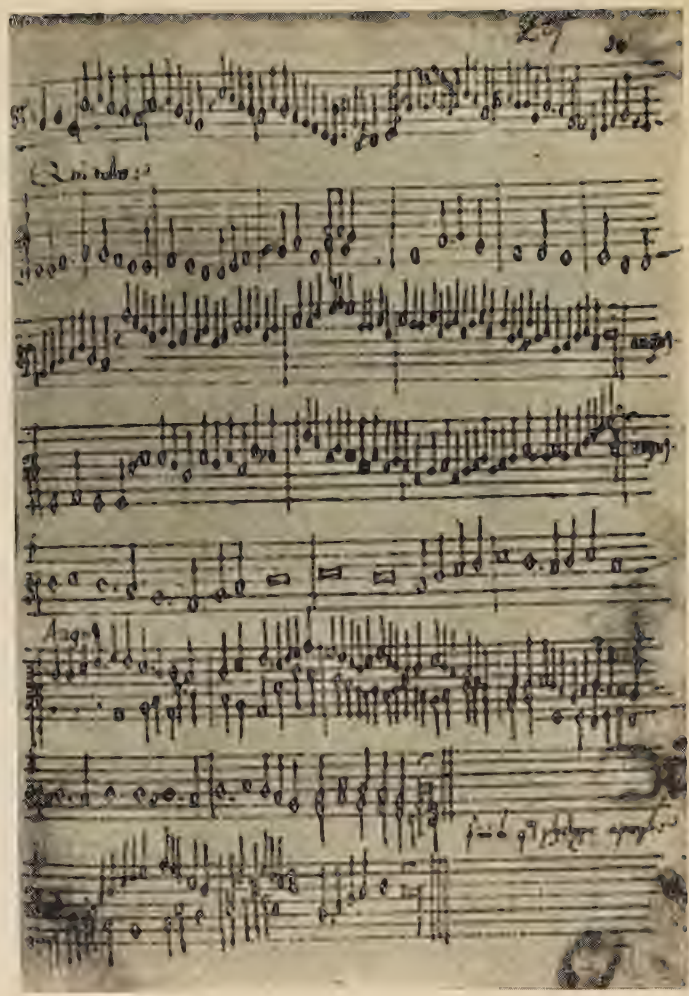
[4] These were to remain the favourite plainsongs of English keyboard players for many years, and can almost certainly be considered as para-liturgical compositions when they appear in spate. *Cf.* fourteen settings of *Miserere* in B. M. Add. Ms. 29996 ff. 6-8 ; seven settings of *Felix namque*, ff. 53v-60.

[5] For a study of the former source, see Feldmann : *Musik und Musikpflege im mittelalterlichen Schlesien* ; for the latter, see Schrade : « Die Messe in der Orgelmusik des 15 Jahrhunderts », *Archiv für Musikforschung*, 1936, p. 150.

[6] For a study of the Bonadies Codex and its keyboard music, including a transcription of a Kyrie, see Plamenac : « Keyboard Music of the 14th Century in Codex Faenza 117 », *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 1951, p. 179.



[Kyrie] Deus creator omnium (f. 28 v)



Agnus Dei (f. 34)

From the Organ Mass by Rhys (B. M. Add. Ms. 29996)

But to return to John Redford, the St Paul's Cathedral organist who is so far the only one of his kind to enjoy a complete study coupled with a complete edition [7], it may be noticed that he is credited with one other section from an organ Mass besides the *Agnus Dei* already mentioned : a *Gloria in excelsis*, which is found on f. 29 of B. M. Add. Ms. 29996. This volume, to which Apel assigns the tentative date of 1550, is in fact a composite and heterogeneous collection of fascicules which have been added to, and possibly re-bound, at various times from the early sixteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth. It was taken for granted until quite recently that the first fifty pieces in the volume were in the hand of John Redford, but since the only certified example of his signature is found in an Exchequer document dated June 20th 1534 [8], and since the attributions of the fifty pieces concerned are mostly written in a quasi-italic hand, the likelihood of their being an autograph is open to question. It is however reasonable to assume that these pieces were copied into the volume at a time when Redford's fame was at its height, that is, during the decade before his death, which took place in 1547.

Pfatteicher's misattribution of the *Gloria* to John Redford was probably the result of a too careful adherence to the printed description of Add. Ms. 29996 in the official catalogue [9], which refers to Redford as the probable author of the anonymous pieces. Neither the catalogue nor Pfatteicher makes any mention of the words which follow the *Gloria*, and these words — though they herald nothing more interesting than two and a half blank pages of music-paper — give the clue to by far the greater part of the composition : *Credo in unum Deum*. Whether the composer planned to set the *Credo* and subsequently decided not to, or whether he wrote out the title of the section and was then informed that it would not be required, is not a matter of immediate importance. He may even have been advised to leave blank pages in order to accommodate a last-minute change of mind among his superiors. The important point is that the projected *Credo* points the way to the next item, which is an offertory « In die sancte Trinitatis » by « P. R. ».

These initials, which appear also on f. 6v of the same volume, have been correctly interpreted by Hughes-Hughes as belonging to Philip ap Rhys, who is described on f. 28v as being « off Saynt Poulles, in London ». His name is variously spelt as « Phelyppe Apprys » (f. 28v), « Phelype Aprys » (f. 34), « Phyllype Apryce »

[7] Pfatteicher, C. F. : *John Redford* (Kassel, 1934).

[8] Exchequer (TR) Acknowledgments of Supremacy (E 25) no. 82 (London, Public Record Office).

[9] Hughes-Hughes : *Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum*, iii, 80 (London 1909).

(f. 41v), and he was certainly a Welshman, probably one of a notable group of Welsh composers mentioned by Thomas Morley [10] under the somewhat tactless heading of « Englishmen » : Robert Jones, John Guinneth, Robert Davies, and Morgan Grig. The work of Philip ap Rhys is not known outside the volume under discussion, and the number of his extant compositions appears to be very few, though it includes settings of the favourite plainsongs of his fellow-organists : *Miserere, Deus creator omnium,* and *Felix namque.*

Turning to the offertory on f. 31v, we find that it is an extended three-part composition based on a figured cantus firmus, which appears as the middle part throughout. True to type, it begins not with the first words of the offertory for Trinity Sunday, but with the words immediately following the intonation of the priest : (*Benedictus sit*) *Deus Pater.* The music for the intonation is not given, and the only clue to the plainsong is the reference « In die sancte Trinitatis » which stands at the head of the piece. But the offertory, taken as a whole, certainly stands in its correct place — after the Credo ; and although continental manuscripts rarely include the offertory as an integral part of the organ Mass, it is found in the examples by Couperin and de Grigny, which are far from being unliturgical in their outlook.

Confirmation of the scheme, as it stands at present, may be found in the ensuing and final section, which is duly marked in the catalogue as « Part of Mass, beginning with " Sanctus " ». It consists of the organ verses for *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei,* with the attribution « finis quod Phelype Aprys » at the end. Here we have then a complete setting of *Gloria,* offertory, *Sanctus,* and *Agnus Dei,* with a *Credo* omission which is understandable by comparison with other organ Masses of continental provenance. For it is largely true that those Masses which include the *Credo* omit the offertory, and vice versa [11]. The only other section which appears to be lacking is the *Kyrie,* which although invariably set by composers of organ Masses in France, Italy and Germany may well have been omitted by a British composer by analogy with the vast repertoire of insular polyphonic Masses that possess no *Kyrie.* The reason for its omission in polyphonic Masses by Tudor composers was simply the rich repertoire of troped *Kyries* in the Sarum Graduals then in use. The setting of a given *Kyrie* as a polyphonic composition would have decreased the number of occasions on which the Mass could be used, so composers sensibly omitted it, thus giving their work a wider liturgical scope.

[10] *A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music* (1597), new edition by R. Alec Harman (London 1952), p. 321.

[11] Among the former class may be included those by Attaingnant, Cavazzoni, Merulo, Banchieri ; and among the latter those by Couperin and de Grigny.

The liturgical scope of the volume under discussion is reasonably wide. To confine ourselves to the first fascicule, we find at first a group of settings of *Miserere*, followed by a number of *alternatim* hymns. Then come four antiphons, two settings of *Te Deum*, and a *Magnificat*, the last three items being also constructed on an *alternatim* scheme. Only one other composition intervenes here, before the organ Mass begins : it is a setting of *Deus creator omnium*, by Philip ap Rhys, the composer of the Mass. At first it seems difficult to understand why this one setting of *Deus creator omnium* should be separated from another composition of the same name (a hymn by John Redford on f. 16v), especially since the compiler of the manuscript has clearly gone to some trouble to group his pieces according to their liturgical genre. Furthermore, where Redford sets three verses (to take the place of verses 2, 4, and 6 of an eight-verse hymn), Rhys gives five verses, a number which could not possibly be accomodated to an *alternatim* scheme for the hymn *Deus creator omnium*. The five verses of Rhys suggest other possibilities, however, calling to mind the five organ verses for the *Kyries* of countless organ Masses of all ages and nations. This composition of Rhys is, in fact, the *Kyrie Deus creator omnium*, the most important of the troped Sarum *Kyries*, and the one which is designated by rubric for the highest feasts. It is built upon the proper melody as given in the Sarum Gradual, and was probably intended to alternate with the full text of the trope. And since the offertory shows us that the Mass was composed for Trinity Sunday, it is clear that Rhys acted upon the rubric « in festis majoribus duplicibus dicitur *Deus creator omnium* », and set the five verses accordingly.

Here then at last is the complete scheme as Rhys conceived it. Catalogue entries 38-41, far from being separate and unrelated items, in fact constitute a work of extreme rarity as far as the Sarum liturgy is concerned. From this framework a convincing *alternatim* plan can be made out for the entire Mass, and comparisons with continental Masses proved Rhys to be a thoroughgoing individualist. The table opposite shows the structure of the *Gloria*, plainsong verses being printed in italics. From this table, it may easily be perceived that the scheme adopted by Rhys has certain affinities with that of the Buchner organ book, in so far as the four acclamations beginning with *Laudamus te* are entrusted to the chorus, whereas the Buxheim book gives them to the organist. Only in later examples, for instance the Masses of Cavazzoni, do we find a completely regular alternating pattern.

From the point of view of organ technique, Rhys's work does not make particularly heavy demands. The texture is limited throughout to two- or three-part writing, and the main idea of the composer seems to be the audibility of the plainsong, which is never

obscured, though often decorated by passing-notes and small cadential interpolations. The counterpoint of the *Kyrie* is free and at times imaginative: the English organists' penchant for sentimental sequences may be noticed in the very first verse. The note-against-note technique of the last verse comes as a sharp contrast to the prevailing fluidity of the four previous ones, yet it must be admitted that this rather stolid effect coupled with the final plagal cadence does much to clinch the rounding-off of a ninefold structure, otherwise remarkably consistent.

The *Gloria*, unlike any other organ Mass known to us, begins (as far as the organ is concerned) with the word *hominibus*. Except for *Qui tollis* all the verses are three-part settings, making use of free imitation in most cases quite unrelated to the cantus firmus. The offertory is an extended, freely-flowing composition with imitative entries at greater distance from one another than those of the *Gloria*. This is the result of changing to a larger canvas; no longer is the composer confined to short verses with frequent and fixed cadences (final G for *Kyrie* verses; E for *Gloria*). In the offertory Rhys is able to give an impression of greater breadth to his treatment of the plainsong, for once the intonation is sung, the rest of the offertory is his to use as a framework for the two free parts. With *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* a return is made to the more epigrammatic treatment of motives, and it should be noticed that here, for the first time, plainsong cues are shown in nearly every instance.

In conclusion, it may be said that although Rhys is not by any stretch of the imagination a great composer, and although his Mass does not automatically qualify for indulgence merely by reason of its uniqueness, it is useful to have at least one reasonably complete organ Mass from England in order to compare insular and continental style and technique.

(Buxheim)	(Buchner)	(Rhys)	(Cavazzoni)
Et in terra pax hominibus...	Et in terra pax hominibus...	*Et in terra pax* hominibus...	Et in terra pax hominibus...
Laudamus te	*Laudamus te*	*Laudamus te*	*Laudamus te*
Benedicimus te	*Benedicimus te*	*Benedicimus te*	Benedicimus te
Adoramus te	*Adoramus te*	*Adoramus te*	*Adoramus te*
Glorificamus te	*Glorificamus te*	*Glorificamus te*	Glorificamus te
Gratias agimus	*Gratias agimus*	Gratias agimus	*Gratias agimus*
Domine Deus	Domine Deus	*Domine Deus*	Domine Deus
Domine Fili	*Domine Fili*	Domine Fili	*Domine Fili*
Domine Deus, Agnus Dei	Domine Deus, Agnus Dei	*Domine Deus, Agnus Dei*	Domine Deus, Agnus Dei
Qui tollis	*Qui tollis*	Qui tollis	*Qui tollis*

(Buxheim)	Buchner)	(Rhys)	(Cavazzoni)
Qui tollis... suscipe	*Qui tollis... suscipe*	*Qui tollis... suscipe*	Qui tollis... suscipe
Qui sedes	Qui sedes	Qui sedes	*Qui sedes*
Quoniam	*Quoniam*	*Quoniam*	Quoniam
Tu solus Dominus	Tu solus Dominus	*Tu solus Dominus*	*Tu solus Dominus*
Tu solus Altissimus *Jesu Christe*	*Tu solus Altissimus Jesu Christe*	*Tu solus Altissimus Jesu Christe*	Tu solus Altissimus Jesu Christe
Cum Sancto Spiritu	Cum Sancto Spiritu	Cum Sancto Spiritu	*Cum Sancto Spiritu*
Amen	Amen	Amen	Amen

(Plainsong verses are shown in italics)

Section and Source	Incipit of Plainsong	Incipit of Organ verse	No. of parts.	position of CF*
Kyrie Sarum I	(Deus creator omnium) [Tibi laudes]	[tu theos ymon]	2	B
	[Christe rex unice]	[Laus virtus pax]	2	B
	[Ne repereant pascuae]	[Qui perditum]	3	T
	[Virtus nostra]	[Consolator spiritus]	3	B
		[Distributor gratie]	3	C
Gloria Sarum IV	(Gloria in excelsis) [Laudamus te.... Glorificamus te]	hominibus	3	B
	[Domine Deus.... omnipotens]	Gratias	3	T
	[Domine Deus.... Patris]	Domine Fili	3	T
	[Qui tollis.... nostram]	Qui tollis	2	C
	[Quoniam.... Christe]	Qui sedes	3	C
		Cum Sancto Spiritu	3	T

Section and Source	Incipit of Plainsong	Incipit of Organ verse	No. of parts.	position of CF*
Credo	(Credo in unum Deum)			
Offertory §	[(Benedictus sit)]	[Deus Pater]	3	T
Sanctus and Benedictus Sarum III	Sanctus	Sanctus, [Sanctus.... Sabaoth]	3	T
	Pleni sunt	Osanna	3	T
	Benedictus	Osanna	3	B
Agnus Dei Sarum III	Agnus Dei	qui tollis	2	B
	(Agnus) [Dei.... miserere nobis]	Agnus	3	B

[ ] = not given
( ) = not noted
§ = Graduale Sarisburiense (Plainsong and Medieval Music Society) plate c
* C = cantus ; T = tenor ; B = bassus

THOMAS MORLEY'S "PLAINE AND EASIE" INTRODUCTION TO THE MODES

ROBERT STEVENSON

A comparison of what Thomas Morley had to say on the subject of the church modes in his *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* with what other contemporary theorists had to say on the same subject proves unusually interesting for at least three reasons. In the first place, Morley was a well-trained musician. He held an Oxford degree and had been a pupil of William Byrd. He had moreover demonstrated his professional competence by passing from an organistship at St. Paul's to a more prestigious post in the Chapel Royal. What he had to say on any crucial subject may therefore be taken to represent the most enlightened opinion of his age and country.

In the second place, he was something of a linguist, and therefore had access to continental sources of information. During his Oxford career he must surely have learned Latin sufficiently well to read with ease such writers as Glareanus. He had early acquired sufficient speaking fluency in the language of the Low Countries to act as one of Burleigh's agents, and he moreover knew Italian. His madrigal translations if not always impeccable still show he was sufficiently conversant with the tongue to grasp its finer nuances. Obviously he knew enough Italian to read even the more difficult passages in such immediately contemporary theorists as Zarlino and Zacconi.

And in the third place Morley's treatment of the modes proves interesting simply because there exists such a wealth of passages in other theorists of his own time with which to compare it. All the continental theorists dealt with the modes, and most of them gave a large amount of space to them. It is therefore easy to decide which aspects of modal theory were universally accepted on the continent, and which aspects were not. If we find Morley departing significantly from modal doctrines which were universally prescribed on the continent during his epoch, then we must find some reason; since obviously he was able to read what continental theorists had to say on the modes, he cannot have wilfully disagreed with their unanimous opinion unless he had some reason for doing so.

To assist us in our comparison of Morley's modal doctrine with continental modal doctrine it may be useful to draw up first a list of those teachings on which all continental theorists agreed. All agreed for one thing that instruction in the modes was prerequiste to any serious study of music. Just as today all theorists accept instruction in the major and minor scale systems as a *sine qua non,* so during the sixteenth century such widely scattered theorists as Salinas in Spain, Zacconi in Italy, and Calvisius in Germany, all united in insisting that an understanding of the modes was the bedrock of musical knowledge upon which all other knowledge must rest. Glareanus in his 1547 *Dodekachordon* set a precedent when he wrote as follows :

> Scarcely any branch of musical knowledge is more important or profitable in our opinion than the science of the modes . . . The modes in music are simply the different scales that may be formed within the octave . . . Of the fourteen modes that can be formed by dividing the octave into fifths plus fourths, or into fourths plus fifths [seven plagal and seven authentic] our age recognizes in theory only eight. In practice, however, a greater number are used, as we shall later demonstrate.[1]

Writers later in the century might disagree ever so emphatically with Glareanus's extension of the modal series from eight modes to twelve or more, but they did not quarrel with his fundamental premiss, namely that « scarcely any branch of musical knowledge is more important or profitable ». Calling the roll of those who wrote in similar vein on the importance of modal science would be tantamount to calling the complete roll of continental theorists during the second half of the century. The more notable names would be those of Salinas and Francisco de Montanos in Spain, Zarlino, Zacconi, and Artusi in Italy, Calvisius in Germany (and Praetorius at the beginning of the seventeenth century). Calvisius in the last year of the sixteenth century wrote :

> A correct understanding of the modes should by all who study music be diligently sought after. A right understanding not only adds to one's delight, but is also most necessary for composers, singers, and choristers [2].

Calvisius after stressing the importance of modal science proceeded to give a set of clear and precise rules whereby might be discerned the mode of any particular melody, and later of any particular polyphonic composition. « The mode of a given melody

[1] *Dodekachordon*, Basle, 1547, p. 29.
[2] *De Modis Musicis*, Leipzig, 1600, p. 1.

may be discerned from its compass, its cadences, and its final »,[3] he said ; he advised calling the mode of a polyphonic composition after the mode of its tenor. He then gave 280 musical examples from such polyphonic masters as Palestrina, Lassus, Handl, the two Gabrielis, Merulo, Marenzio, and from other less important composers such as Ruffo, Meiland, and de Wert, in order to show by actual analysis how polyphonic compositions should be classified modally.

The summary of Calvisius's teachings, or of those propagated by other continental theorists, is not however germane to our purpose except insofar as the teachings of others differed radically from those Morley uttered. What we have attempted first to establish is the unanimity of the continental theorists in agreeing the modes were of prime importance in any course of music instruction. A second point of general agreement among them concerned the usage of the terms *tone* and *mode*. According to such theorists as Glareanus, Salinas, Zarlino, and Zacconi, *tone* and *mode* were by no means the same thing. Rather they were concepts which ought to be carefully distinguished. Glareanus in his 1547 *Dodekachordon* wrote :

> The modes are also sometimes called tones, . . . although calling them tones results in confusion. We shall adhere to the practice universally accepted in antiquity of calling them modes. The authority of Boethius, it is true, has been invoked for calling them tones. In his Book IV, chapter xiv, he said : « The modes formed by dividing the octave are also called *tropes* or *tones* » ; but Boethius's statement can hardly be taken to imply that he approved calling the modes « tones »[4].

Salinas in his 1577 *De musica libri septem* repeated what Glareanus had already written :

> Although Boethius in the opinion that modes and tones can properly be considered synonymous terms seems to have confused the two, the ancient Greeks were differently minded, and never used « tone » when they meant « mode », nor vice versa. What have been more recently called the eight tones were in antiquity known only as modes . . . But despite this confounding of tone and mode in recent times, properly speaking the term mode should be used and not tone . . . All lovers of correct usage will acknowledge that the two terms should not be used to mean one and the same thing.[5]

Zarlino in his *L'Istitutioni Harmoniche* (1558, 1589) aroused bitter protest because he courageously differed from certain prevailing

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 4. For Praetorius's discussion of modes and their proper distinction, see his *Syntagma Musicum*, Wolfenbüttel, 1619, III, 36.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 29.

[5] *De musica libri septem*, Salamanca, 1577 (reprint, 1592), pp. 198-99.

opinions. But he was completely the disciple of his predecessor, Glareanus, in carefully distinguishing between *mode* and *tone* :

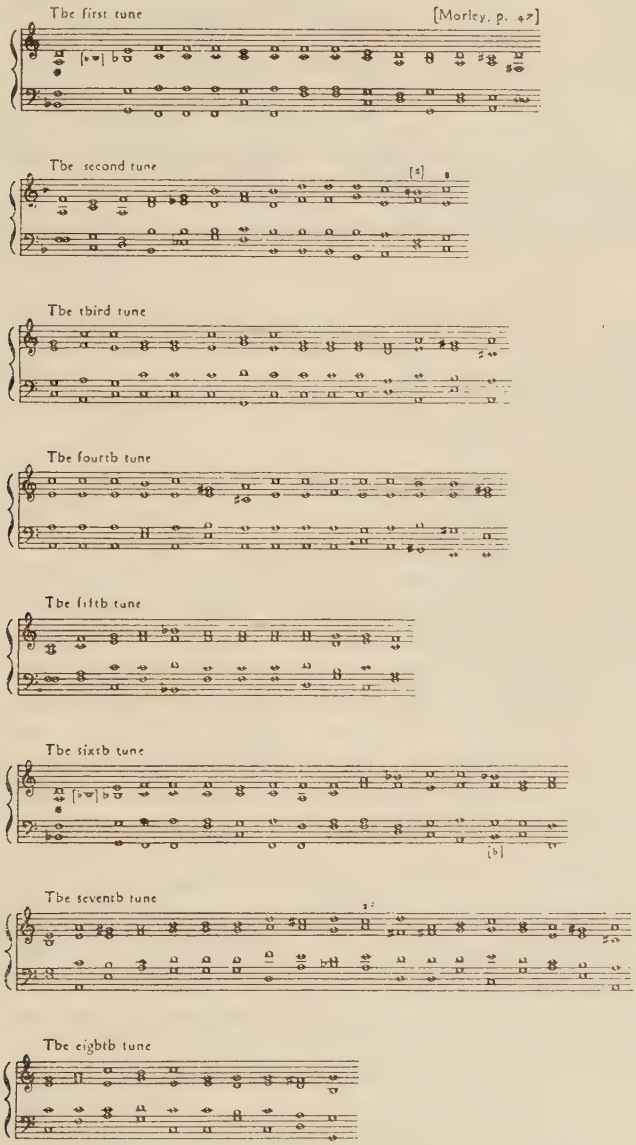
> What some have called *mode* [modo], others have called *trope* [tropo] and others *tone* [tuono]. The Greek etymology of the word *trope* might possibly justify its usage in the sense we are now considering ; *tone*, however, is a word which gives rise to confusion because of the several senses in which it can be taken. It can mean at least four things : sound, in the general sense ; or, a musical interval ; or, the quality of the voice ; or, the division of the octave. And because this word *tone* (tuono) can be used as we have seen in such a multiplicity of senses, the term *mode* should be used and not *tone*, in order insofar as possible to avoid ambiguity. I wish to make clear this one fact : Boethius when speaking of mode and tone used the terms in the senses those words had in his own day [not in ours].[6]

Zacconi in his *Prattica di Musica* (1592) insisted the only way to avoid confusion, if the term *tuono* must be used in referring to the pattern of scale-steps within the octave, would involve the using of a compound term, *tuono harmoniale.*[7] In referring to tones in the sense of whole-tones and semitones, he used the expression, *tuono di grado.* Others of the period were content to follow the lead of such major figures as Zarlino, carefully distinguishing the terms *tone* and *mode.* Only in the case of highly compressed authors such as the popularizer, Orazio Tigrini, does one fail to encounter a meticulous separation of the two terms.[8]

Having ascertained the tenor of continental teaching, what kind of comparison can now be made with the teachings of Morley? The first and most conspicuous difference is the small and obscure place Morley gives the subject. Not only does he reserve any treatment of the church modes to the third and last section of his treatise, but he then briefly hurries over the whole topic, as if it were of utterly no moment.[9] Philomathes, his pupil, asks him what the pattern of the ancient modes was, and says he means to study them « by the grace of God hereafter ». Morley then gives no actual explanation of the modes, but instead gives examples of what they are. Before listing Morley's examples, we notice next that he confuses the terms *mode* and *tone* from his very first mention of the topic. Not only does this confusion prevail in the short section accorded the modes in his third part, but in the somewhat longer

[6] *L'Istitutioni Harmoniche*, Venice, 1589, p. 383 (reprint).
[7] *Prattica di Musica*, Venice, 1596, f. 198r (reprint).
[8] *Il Compendio della Musica*, Venice, 1588, pp. 95-96.
[9] *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Pratical Musiske*, London, 1608, p. 147 (reprint).

explanation of the topic which he attempts in his annotations at the end of his treatise. Here are the « eight tunes for the ancient *modi* », as Morley gives them :



If Morley's brief dialogue between « master » and « pupil » preceding these eight « tunes » does not conclusively demonstrate he in his own mind confused the terms « mood » and « tune » (mode

and tone), certainly what he has to say on the topic in his annotations at the end does. Morley of course urged the annotations not be read until the main body of his text had been thoroughly digested. But since he has said so little on page 147 of his text we turn to page 18 of the annotations and read there : « the tunes . . . are also called *modi musici* ». The compass of the first tune, he says, lies between d sol re (D below middle C) and d la sol re (D above middle C). He adds :

> Our practicioners have erred in making eight tunes . . . there . . . arise fourteene kinds of formes, tunes, or *modi*.

On the next page of his annotations he speaks of « autenticall tunes », and continues :

> It is also to be understood that those examples which I have in my booke set downe for the eight tunes, be not the true and essentiall formes of the eight tunes or usuall moodes, but the formes of giving the tunes to their psalmes in the churches, which the churchmen (falsly) beleeve to be the *modi* or tunes.

For further enlightenment concerning the *modi* or tunes, he then directs the reader to Books II and III of Glareanus and Books IV in both Zarlino and Zacconi.

Nothing could perhaps be plainer than Morley's amalgamation of the terms, tone (tune) and mode (mood). Yet in all three of the authors cited by Morley a sharp line was drawn between tone and mode. Morley in his annotations rightly observed that his examples were « the formes of giving their tunes to their psalmes in the churches », but Zacconi called the psalm-tones — and Morley's examples show psalm-tones, not modes — by another name, *aere*.

Without going here into any further discussion of Morley's modal science, at least these two aspects of his science seem palpably clear — however much he may have known, or forgotten, concerning modes, he at the time of writing his treatise considered the subject of small moment ; and in the little he did write he confused the two terms, *tone* and *mode*. Since manifestly he was a well educated musician as English education went, we must conclude that neither at Oxford in his day, nor in the private tutelage he may have received from Byrd was modal science stressed. And we may also rightly infer he continued to think the modes of small importance even after reading continental authors, where the subject was invariably treated at length. For if he had been really impressed by the learned disquisitions of « Glareanus, Zarlino, and Zacconi », whom he flourished before the reader at the end of his annotations, it stands to reason he would have followed their lead in such routine matters as the distinction between *tone* and *mode*.

Morley's failure to discourse lengthily on tones or modes is a point of capital importance. No one looking at the Magnificats of Taverner, Tallis, and Whyte, in *Tudor Church Music* can have failed to observe how differently planned are the English Magnificats, though using Latin texts, from those of Costanzo Festa, Cristóbal de Morales, Gombert, Palestrina, Lassus, and Victoria. The continental composers wrote in *tones*; Taverner and Tallis, also writing Latin Magnificats, conspicuously avoided the « tonal » schemes adhered to by Palestrina and his continental colleagues. It would be too lengthy a departure from our subject to analyze the differences between the English and continental Magnificats. But analysis will reveal the Latin Magnificats of Taverner and Tallis differed as much from the Magnificats of the continental composers as did English Masses from continental Masses.

Seen in proper perspective, Morley's disinterest in the modes sharpens our understanding of English musical practice during his century. If it is distressing perhaps to acknowledge he must have read his continental sources with a singularly impercipient eye, nevertheless his failure to have done so enables us to form some idea of his English education in the subject, without the addition of extensive continental adornments. If he knew little of modal theory as expounded on the continent, so must his own English colleagues.

The only English writer of his generation who seems at this vantage to have taken in hand the subject of the tones was John Dowland. Dowland obliquely censured Morley's book by issuing in 1609 — the year after *A Plaine and Easie Introduction* appeared in its first reprint — a translation of Andreas Ornithoparcus's *Micrologus*, in which for the first time in English appeared a lengthy discussion of the system of psalm-tones, so sedulously avoided by Morley. Far from placing them at page 147 as Morley had done, Dowland's *Ornithoparcus* grapples with the subject on page 29, and stays steadily with it until page 35.

Yet even Dowland's *Ornithoparcus* provides further proof the subject of modes and tones never had become an indigenized part of English music education. For even his attempt to handle the subject in English was merely a translation of an elementary treatise on the subject written almost a century earlier for « the youth of Germany ». Therefore fuller though the *Ornithoparcus* be in discussing the subject, it still afforded English readers only pabulum rather than adult food.

If it is still true of Morley's *Plaine and Easie Introduction* (as one authority has said) that : « For the English student of modal music it is indispensable, being still the only important English work on the subject » — and in the connection this statement was made it seems to refer to the modes in the sense we have been con-

sidering — then it seems absolutely indispensable for the student of sixteenth century music as it was written on the continent to turn from Morley to the continental theorists. Morley boasted that with the help of what he had written on the modes a reader might grasp Glareanus, Zarlino, Zacconi, and presumably the others, with ease. He said : « For with the helpe of this which here is set downe, he may understand easily all which is there handled ».[10] If his boast seems now a trifle overweening, at least what he failed to say on the subject can stimulate those who would penetrate the sixteenth century mind to a closer scrutiny of those authors for whom he provided a précis so singularly imprecise.

[10] *Ibid.*, Annotations, p. 19.

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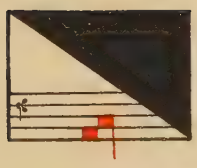

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